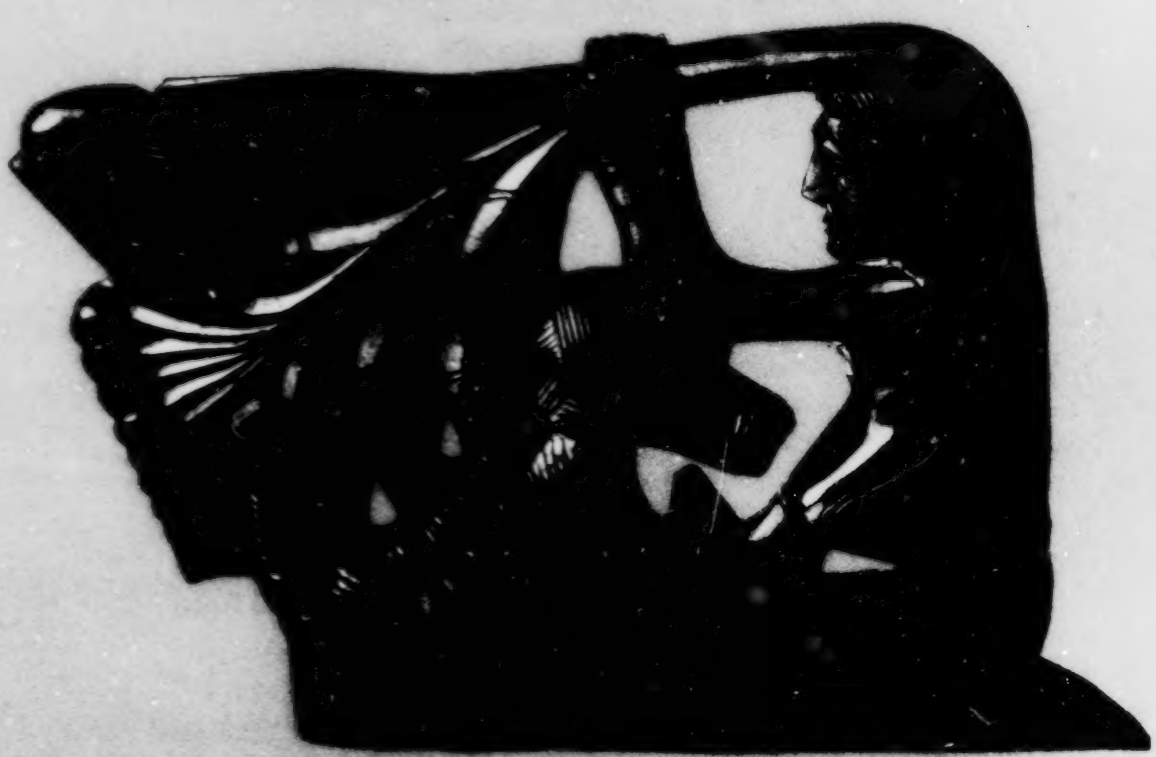
THE MAGIC LEAVES



A HISTORY OF HAIDA ARGILLITE CARVING

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A HISTORY OF HAIDA ARGILLITE CARVING

by

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FOREWORD

Haida carvers on Canada's Pacific Coast have carved figures from black rock for about 150 years. These carvings are known around the world, for through the years many travellers to that stormy shore have carried home the finely shaped totem poles and other figures made on the Queen Charlotte Islands. From the beginning the black figures have had wide appeal because of their remote origins, and a deep aura of mystery because of their strange shapes, both attributes giving them values best described as "museum quality". When they found their ways into museum collections they remained there; if they wandered from travellers into the market place they went briefly to the best shops and auction houses, then into the care of informed collectors.

This book is the idea materialized of two such informed and dedicated collectors who assembled the largest and best private collection of these carvings known to this Museum. When Mr. and Mrs. Francis C. Reif of Vancouver donated their superb collection to the British Columbia Provincial Museum, they made two suggestions. One was that their collection should go on public display along with other pieces from the Museum's collection; the other was that the Museum should produce a well illustrated book as a definitive scholarly work on the black, Haida carvings. Both projects were accepted as logical and clearly the Museum's obligation to both the generous donors and to the people of British Columbia who were soon to own the Reif collection. The Museum's superbly augmented collection of these carvings is now available to everyone through exhibition and through this book, thanks to the philanthropy and wise encouragement of Francis and Kathleen Reif.

The black stone used for these carvings, quarried from Slatechuck Mountain not far from the ancient village of Skidegate, must be one of the better known rocks in the world because of the carvings it has made possible. This rock is a kind of argillite, a word pronounced according to my Oxford Dictionary with the 'g' sounding as in the word "age", but many people, apparently in error, pronounce it with the 'g' sounding as in "go". The argillite dug by the Haida is black from a high content of carbon, and has the fine texture essential for carving. Finished art pieces take a high polish and rest well in the hand, being smooth and heavy with a pleasant feel of coolness.

Small sculptures with popular appeal soon become copies for the mass market, sometimes as copies made under copyright arrangements, more often as approximations that are not true copies as defined by copyright law. Old objects however can be quite free of copyright protection, so may be copied quite legally. Hundreds of commercial simulations of argillite carvings now clutter tourist-oriented souvenir shops across Canada. While pieces expertly cast can be difficult for the novice to identify as replicas, mass-produced pieces usually have poor quality and fool no one with any knowledge of the subject.

Values can certainly be found in copies of things as well as in originals. Each can give that first push toward more sophisticated understandings, deepening appreciations of traditions and of the things that traditions help people create. It is also clear, however, that copying must be controlled, and that copies must be clearly marked as copies in order to protect the integrity of the art and to ensure fair return to the artist.

Original argillite carvings of good quality are now available in some Canadian shops. After years when little argillite was shaped by Haida hands, now a number of good artists work on the rock that comes from Slatechuck Mountain. Most follow old carving traditions. Once again the good strong forms — Haida forms — are emerging from argillite. Perhaps it is predictable that a person convinced of the priceless values of museum collections would favour old traditional ways which are everywhere in danger of being lost. Great pressures are on artists who follow regional traditions, pressures to follow the herd in current westernized fashions and in the long-term changes taking place in world-wide art traditions. Perhaps Indian artists on the Canadian west coast can continue to resist these influences, for theirs are traditions unique and sophisticated and demanding, second to none in all respects.

Time fogs memory and smothers tradition in a world busily concerned with changing everywhere to be like everywhere else. Old places and old traditions are now the only real treasure we have. Some such treasure appears to be a healthy survivor on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

May the understanding of Raven and the skill to release him from stone and wood always be able to find the kind of Raven that was there in the old days.

R. Y. Edwards
Director

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many individuals, institutions and organizations were helpful in the study and research which led to the publication of this book. Foremost were the Friends of the Provincial Museum whose financial generosity allowed Macnair to visit major public collections of argillite in North America and to examine and interpret collections records more directly and critically than they have been studied to date. Similarly, money from the Friends enabled Hoover to view certain British collections when he was in Britain on other business. The authors wish to thank the Friends of the Provincial Museum for their generous support which contributed so significantly to the study.

At various points all members of the Ethnology Division of the British Columbia Provincial Museum assisted us and our apreciation is extended to them. John Veillette must be singled out for special thanks because he supervised the cataloguing of the Reif collection, prepared many of the descriptions of carvings for this publication and undertook the installation of the British Columbia Provincial Museum's permanent exhibit of argillite.

Special thanks are due also to Maria Abbott and Jan Vriesen who helped solve the problems of the Berlin pipe and to Richard Renshaw-Beauchamp who, while in Paris, confirmed our suspicions about the Scouler pieces with a visit to the Musée de l'Homme.

Elsewhere the Reif family is thanked for its generous donation to the British Columbia Provincial Museum of 111 argillite carvings, but the authors would like to offer their personal thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Francis C. Reif and their sons for their continued interest in and support of this study.

To the many institutions visited by the authors and individuals employed therein, we are most grateful for courtesies extended and assistance given. It was indeed a pleasure to be received as warmly as we were and to be given free opportunity to examine collections and records. We trust our contributions will create additional public interest and scholarship in these holdings, and that they will become more meaningful because of our discoveries.

Following is a list of institutions and individuals without whose help this study could not have been completed:

INSTITUTIONS

Aberdeen University Anthropological Museum; American Museum of Natural History; Field Museum of Natural History; Florida State Museum; Glenbow Museum; Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park; McCord Museum; Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery; Musée de l'Homme (Paris); Museum Für Volkerkunde (Berlin); Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia; Museum of Mankind, British Museum; National Museum of Man (Ottawa); National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution; Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology; Peabody Museum of Salem; Perth Museum and Art Gallery; Pitt Rivers Museum; Royal Ontario Museum; Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum; Vancouver Museum.

INDIVIDUALS

Denis Alsford, Michael M. Ames, Kitty Bishop, Sally Bond, Douglas Cole, Richard Daly, Peter Fetchko, Stanley A. Freed, Helmuth Fuchs, Philip C. Gifford Jr., Conrad Graham, Chris Grant, Margaret O. Green, John Grimes, Judy Hall, Deborah Harding, Horst Hartmann, Julia Harrison, Bill Holm, Harold Hosford, Charles Hunt, Dale Idiens, Jim Inglis, D. Kelly, Jonathan King, Lynn Maranda, Carol Meyer, Jerald T. Milanich, Owen Moore, Susan Paine, Audrey Shane, Barbara Stuckenrath, William C. Sturtevant, Maurice H. Tarr, James W. VanStone, Edwin L. Wade, Ronald Weber, Robin Wright.

1
The Reif Collection

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Early trade pipe, Figure 92
See page 108

"If a small museum in a remote spot has one piece of Northwest Coast art, it is more apt to be a piece of argillite than almost anything else." (Gunther 1968:168)

Objects carved from argillite have long fascinated the adventurer, the collector and the casual visitor to the Queen Charlotte Islands where Haida Indians have worked this dense black shale for more than 150 years. As Gunther implies, such artifacts are found in museums, large and small, throughout North America, Britain and Europe. This is not unusual, for argillite is an art produced for sale and was thus acquired and widely distributed by individual and institutional buyers. In time, the subject and form of these carvings changed, so that today at least 16 types, or categories, of object can be identified. Because these types fit into a recognized chronological sequence, undocumented examples can usually be assigned a date of manufacture accurate to within a decade or two.

No single museum has the good fortune to own a comprehensive collection in which all categories were acquired sequentially. For example, the Peabody Salem Museum has important early specimens of the art, donated by enterprising New England seamen who visited the northwest coast of North America between 1825 and 1850. But later type-specimens are not well represented in that museum because its collecting interests and indeed, donors, shifted focus after the middle of the nineteenth century. The same applies to many other museums; while older examples of argillite carving are found in museums in Britain, Europe and the eastern American seaboard, later specimens are absent. Such carvings were usually acquired fortuitously; a native son sent curios to the town of his birth, a government-sponsored exploring expedition chanced upon a collection and later deposited it in a national repository. Only after 1880 did museums systematically attempt to acquire and document argillite carvings.

By then private citizens were also assembling collections, gleaning examples from anyone whose ancestors had contact with the Pacific Northwest Coast. The most successful of these collectors were able to represent all categories produced to date through a process involving more luck than science. Eventually, philanthropists among these collectors placed their acquisitions in public collections where they were available to all.

It is ironic that in Canada, and particularly in British Columbia where the art was produced, no major, well-documented, early collections of argillite exist. This is primarily because public museums in this country were not established until the 1880s, some 60 years after the argillite activity began. Slowly, some of them, notably the National Museum of Man, Ottawa, the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, the Glenbow Museum, Calgary, and the British Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria, built collections which embraced early examples, but few of these pieces included significant documentation.

With one or two exceptions, no Canadian citizens sought to establish private collections featuring the range of form and subject found in argillite carving. Without question, the most distinguished exception of these has been the Vancouver connoisseurs of the art, Francis and Kay Reif. With little published information to guide them, Mr. and Mrs. Reif were able to build, over 15 years, a selection in which nearly every type of argillite carving is represented. Recent scholarly contributions proposing a chronology for the artform were simply not available to the Reifs during their active collecting period and it is a real tribute to their critical eye and individual scholarship that they were able to put together what is undoubtedly the most balanced private collection assembled in the twentieth century. In fact, it would not be amiss to suggest that no other personal collection ever compiled is as representative of the many forms of argillite as is the Reif collection.

Amassing such an assemblage required a determined interest, a sensitive eye, a critical examination of known examples and available publications, and an assiduous perusal of antique stores, auction catalogues and offerings of dealers. The Reifs learned to recognize the different types and to select good examples to represent these categories, to the point where their collection stands unmatched by any contemporary examples.

In 1978, Mr. and Mrs. Reif and their three sons Tony, Charles and Greg donated the 111 argillite carvings in their collection to the people of British Columbia. With this publication and the permanent exhibition of their collection in the British Columbia Provincial Museum, their quiet and studied appreciation of this unique artform can now be shared by all.

Combined with the Reif examples are pieces selected from the Museum's collection so that in all more than 200 carvings are presented. While the Reif carvings are now part of the Museum's collection, they are here designated by the alphabetical suffix R so that the viewer can easily distinguish them. This selfless contribution by the Reif family gives us the opportunity to appreciate fully the range and accomplishment of the elegant argillite sculpture of the Haida.

2

Argillite: The Material

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Figure 1
Cat. No. 11124
L. 20cm W. 1.4cm H. 5.6cm

Partially carved argillite preform. The shape indicates that when finished it would have been a Haida panel pipe.

Popularly and locally called "slate", argillite used by the Haida is really a dense, black, carbonaceous shale. It is obtained from a quarry on Slatechuck Creek near the present Haida village of Skidegate. Although much of the Queen Charlotte landform contains what geologists call argillite, the outcrop utilized by Haida Indians is unique in its structure and formation. Slatechuck argillite has been described briefly by geologist Sutherland Brown (1968:176) who notes that it is basically composed of silt-sized fragments of kaolinite (a fine clay) present in a very fine carbonaceous clay matrix. Long after the Slatechuck deposit was laid down, changes in its structure occurred through folding and heating caused by a nearby volcanic eruption. The resulting modification distinguishes the Slatechuck rock from all other argillites and creates the unique properties which enable it to be carved with ease. Chemical analysis reveals the major mineralogical components are silica, alumina, ferrous oxide and carbon. In colour it ranges from grey to black and has a hardness of 2.5. (Geologists rate the hardness of rock on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 diamond-hard, and talc 1.) The carver must be careful in choosing his slab because the material varies, some pieces containing inclusions which make them unsuitable for carving.

The Haida have been using the Slatechuck quarry since at least the 1820s and, from their own legal view, proprietary rights extend into the past far beyond that date. However, it was only in 1941 that the quarry site of approximately 18 hectares was designated as an Indian Reserve (Ainsworth 1950:19; Drew & Wildson 1980:47-48), thus assuring access exclusively to the Haida. Control is vested in the Skidegate Band although they presently permit members of the Masset Band to gather the stone. Archaeological evidence suggests that the material was taken, in historic times, to a number of now-abandoned village sites where it was worked during the early decades of the argillite activity (Fladmark 1973; Gessler & Gessler 1976). While these sites are no longer occupied on a year-round basis, access to them is still strictly controlled by the Haida whose reserve lands they remain.

Initially the argillite is quarried with hand tools and worked into manageable blocks which the carver must transport some three kilometres by backpack to salt water. Later it is easily, although painstakingly, fashioned with ordinary wood-working tools. The materials can be roughed into shape with an adze and further blocked out using a hand-saw (Fig. 3). Detailed carving nonetheless requires patience, persistence and skill. Final finishes are achieved using knives and gravers especially made for the purpose. Where two-dimensional designs are applied, great care must be taken to produce a clean, fine line unmarred by chipping. Often the artist must engrave over the same line several times to achieve the required depth and definition.

Early artists preferred to leave their tool marks evident, thus giving character to the carvings. Careful inspection reveals narrow, parallel knife marks (Fig. 149) on the main surface of most objects produced before 1890. After 1890, polishing with fine abrasives came into vogue. Attempts to deepen the lustre and blackness of such later carvings were made by rubbing the finished piece with mixtures of vaseline and graphite, shoe polish, or secret concoctions, the formulae of which were carefully guarded. Today's artist may produce a high sheen by lengthy polishing with the finest emery paper available. While this changes the surface of the material, the integrity of the stone itself is maintained.

A persistent and widespread story claims that argillite hardens on exposure to air, some versions suggesting it can become so impervious that it resists the carver's tools. This is not the case. Freshly quarried argillite contains some moisture and the material must be slowly and carefully dried to prevent cracking. In the past, carvers often painted rough slabs with shellac and then buried them, wrapped in burlap sacking, to encourage gradual drying. But the difference in water content has little effect on hardness; contemporary artists who have recarved parts of 150-year-old examples while undertaking repairs report there is no appreciable difference between such venerable samples and the freshly quarried shale (Holm 1972:86).

GRAHAM ISLAND
British Columbia
Tlell River

Figure 2
Cat. No. 11309
L. 8cm W. 2.7cm H. 2.2cm

Argillite preform showing saw marks.

Figure 3
Cat. No. 4366
L. 21.8cm W. 8.5cm H. 3.6cm

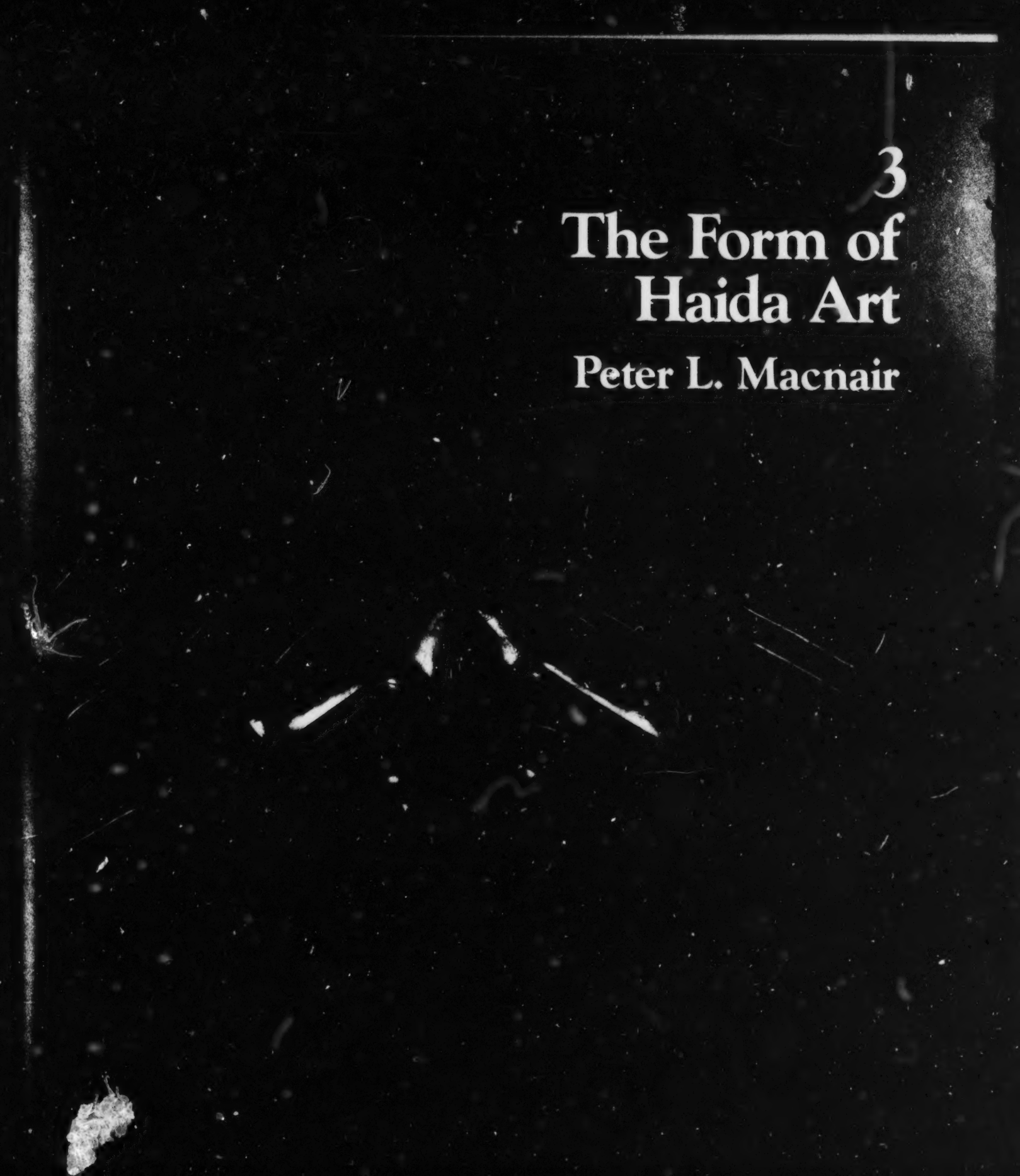
Triangular-shaped piece of argillite showing sawn edges and adze marks.

Figure 4
Cat. No. 11534
L. 11.3cm W. 7cm H. 12.7cm

Unfinished Haida figure group composed of a seated bear and a human image.

3
The Form of Haida Art

Peter L. Macnair



Overleaf
Detail of large chest,
Figure 126, see page 127, 130

Argillite carving is an outgrowth, if not an integral part, of the centuries-old art that was developed and mastered by the peoples of the Northern Northwest Coast of North America. To understand and appreciate argillite it is necessary to explore, however briefly, the formal art upon which argillite carving is based. Two traditions characterize the form, the sculptural and the two-dimensional. Strict rules dictate the way in which planes are carved and in which painted lines flow. With some understanding of form and these rules, Haida carving can be distinguished from that of other tribal groups and seemingly abstract graphic designs can be deciphered. Given the complex iconography of the art, its expression is also an intellectual exercise and its ultimate master can manipulate the rules to produce a two-dimensional image so abstract that it defies interpretation. In such cases an understanding of the conventions at least enables us to appreciate the artist's virtuosity.

While we are encouraged to believe that our personal response to "art" is subjective, it is possible to make objective judgments about Haida art, or any art, if its precepts are understood. In its classic manifestation, Haida sculpture illustrates certain ratios of head to body, certain ways of rendering eyesockets, eyelid lines, nostrils, mouth and chin; if these are understood it can be determined whether or not an artist has produced an accomplished piece. Similarly, if it is known that the basic elements of flat design must be handled in certain ways, no matter how complex or abstract they might become, they can be judged as to whether or not the graphic is successful, given the demanding rules which govern it. Armed with such understanding, objectivity leading to an ultimate appreciation of the art can be applied.

Haida sculpture is perhaps most readily examined through reference to totem poles. These monumental sculptures graced the front of every Haida village (Fig. 5) and were observed as early as 1791. In that year John Bartlett (1925:facing 306; see also Blackman n.d.:33) sketched a Haida house with a large entrance pole at or near Cloak Bay, Langara Island.

Today some of these magnificent poles still stand on their original locations on the Queen Charlotte Islands; others have long since been removed and grace museum collections around the world. If these carved columns are examined carefully, it can be seen that the proportion of head to body on nearly every figure is essentially one to one (Fig. 6). Obviously then, this is a rule exercised by the sculptor. The emphasis on head enables the viewer to be drawn to the face of each image and to identify the creature depicted. The appendages, especially of humans and land mammals are rendered minimally and play little part in identifying the creature. Where birds, and particularly sea mammals and mythic creatures, are represented, appendages become significant aids to identification. While most figures on Haida poles represent family crests, it must be remembered that crests of both husband and wife may be represented on a pole, particularly a house frontal pole (Swanton 1905:122).

Further examination of faces reveals that the Haida artist handles anatomical elements in certain ways. Haida house frontal poles are a hollowed, half-cylinder in cross section, upon which a flat design is applied on the outer curve and then carved in low relief (Holm 1965:14, 17; 1967). Examination of a typical humanoid face (Fig. 7) reveals that stylized eyebrows take up most of the forehead. The eyesocket, which is roughly ovoid in outline, is gently hollowed from its outer edge to the point where it meets the eyelid line. The latter is distinctive in Haida sculpture and is rendered in relief. The iris may be circular or ovoid, forms which the upper and lower eyelid lines reflect. Usually the eyelid lines join at a tapered point well below the centre of the iris. The nostrils are clearly defined and are stylized in a manner similar to other Northwest Coast tribal sculpture although in Haida examples they are massive, spreading some distance across the face. The mouth is broad, in fact it may run to the extreme edge of the pole, and the lips are continuous, that is, there is no distinct split between upper lip, which may be slightly arched, and lower lip, which is usually horizontal. The chin is predictably minimal. These features are handled consistently whether a human, bird, mammal, insect or amphibian is represented. The single exception is the mouth which varies to represent a beak or proboscis. Thus the distinctive Haida sculptural style is defined and the rules remain in force whether on monumental sculpture (Fig. 6) or in small, delicate carvings (Fig. 28).

The other great artistic tradition of the Northwest Coast Indian is that of two-dimensional design. Among the northern tribal groups (Haida, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Northern Kwakiutl), the Haida are perhaps the most renowned for their practice of this complex and challenging graphic artform. The form and rules of this are examined in detail in Bill Holm's *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form* (1965). Students wishing to understand flat design are encouraged to read this publication. A brief summary of the form of two-dimensional art and the rules which govern it is presented here.

The basis of Haida flat design is a flowing, almost

calligraphic line that is continuous throughout the design field. This is termed a *formline* by Bill Holm and serves to determine the main anatomical features of the creature represented. It incorporates two basic elements, the *ovoid* and the *u-form*, and, by convention, these must be rendered in a certain fashion. The overall effect of the formline is one of inherent tension which is encouraged by the continuous flow of line. The successful artist is allowed considerable freedom within convention for experimentation and innovation. In painted examples, the formline is usually rendered in black, thus defining the *primary formline*. Secondary elements are painted red and are not continuous throughout; they are contained within formline ovoids and u-forms, yet they are also formline elements in themselves. Tertiary areas are sometimes slightly hollowed and, in painted examples, may be coloured blue or blue-green (Fig. 8). However, all three of these ranked areas can be found within a flat design which is not painted, the primary, secondary and tertiary areas being skillfully defined by the artist's tools. Such renderings, not relying upon colour, are notable accomplishments and in argillite carvings offer a considerable challenge to recognize the intent of flat design.

The *ovoid* is used by the Haida artist primarily to define eyes, eyesockets, shoulder joints and hip joints. To be considered successful, the ovoid must assume the following shape: The bottom should be slightly concave, with sharply rounded bottom corners. From these, the steep sides expand slightly outward and, as they approach the top, curve gently toward one another so that an upward-curving top is created. The upper horizontal curve is generally thicker than its less-exaggerated lower counterpart, thus contributing to the calligraphic quality (Fig. 8).

The second typical design element, the *u-form*, when incorporated into a primary formline design, may serve to designate the main part of a wing, fin, fluke or leg. In a more abstract context, especially as a secondary formline element, it may be considered simply as a filler. Frequently it appears in combination with an ovoid and when the two are shown together as a unit they depict a complete appendage (Fig. 8). Identification of such appendages, especially wings, is important to an understanding of the art and its degeneration in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The reader is urged to remember this element for it constantly recurs as new types of artifacts in argillite are introduced. Elements of flat design on many slate carvings are closely integrated with the sculptural form so the relationship between the two should be anticipated. This device, a combing of two- and three-dimensional elements, is an acceptable convention of Haida art and successful examples mark the work of truly accomplished artists.

Figure 6

Haida house frontal pole at Haina (New Gold Harbour) village photographed in 1888 by Hanna or Richard Maynard. (B.C.P.M. photo PN 5651.)

Figure 7

Human face on memorial pole, Ninstints village, 1901. (C. F. Newcombe photo, B.C.P.M. PN 836.)

Figure 5

View of Skedans village, taken in 1878 by G. M. Dawson, showing house frontal, mortuary and memorial poles. (B.C.P.M. photo PN 1034. Courtesy Public Archives of Canada.)

Figure 8

Classic Northern Northwest Coast two-dimensional design adapted from a Haida chest (B.C.P.M. No. 1295).

The three colours are represented here by ■ for black, ■ for red and ■ for blue-green.

Main design elements include:
(a) primary formline, (b) ovoid, (c) u-form, (d) salmon-trout's-head.

4
The Haida and Tobacco

Alan L. Hoover

Overleaf
Detail of ship panel pipe,
Figure 46, see page 65

Haida commercial argillite carving began with the production of tobacco pipes. This choice is best understood in light of the long-established use of tobacco by the Haida, and the Tlingit, who were unique among Northwest Coast peoples in cultivating a variety of native tobacco.

Haida tradition records that tobacco plants came to the Queen Charlottes in mythic times through the action of the culture hero Raven and his cousin Cloudwoman (Swanton 1905a:233; Dawson 1880:152). The native plant was apparently an annual that grew to about two-thirds of a metre high and was cultivated in garden plots (Dawson 1880:114-115; Newcombe 1898, quoted in Turner and Taylor 1972:250-251). The plant was harvested, dried, finely ground in a stone mortar and pressed into cakes, later to be mixed with burned clamshell and "chewed or held in the cheek" (Dawson 1880:114-115). C. F. Newcombe (n.d.:64) records that a paste made from burned abalone shells, not clam shells, was chewed or sucked with the tobacco. The Haida practice of chewing this native plant was recorded as early as 1791 at Rose Harbour on Kunghit Island (Newcombe 1923:141). Two botanical specimens of this native plant have survived to modern times. One was collected by Captain George Dixon, master of the *Queen Charlotte* in 1787 and the second by the botanist Alexander Menzies, either when he was with Colnett in 1787 or with Vancouver about 1792 (Turner & Taylor 1972:250, 254). The botanists Turner and Taylor have identified the flowering specimen collected by Dixon as a cultivated variety of *Nicotiana quadrivalvis*. Emmons (n.d., Chap. 5:30) states that a specimen of the native tobacco grown by the Tlingit was analyzed as *Nicotiana multivalvis* or *N. quadrivalvis* by Prof. Frederick V. Colville of the U.S. Department of Agriculture about 1882.

Following European contact, commercial tobacco *(Nicotiana tabacum)* was introduced and the cultivation of the native plants apparently became less common (Dawson 1880:114-115; Krause 1956:208; Niblack 1890:334; Emmons n.d., Chap. 5:30).

It is not clear why the Haida and Tlingit came to prefer commercial tobacco over the native plant. Convenience may have been a factor because, as noted above, the plant was an annual that required intensive cultivation (see also Curtis 1916:131-132). Another factor may have been that the introduced tobacco was apparently stronger than the native variety (Turner & Taylor 1972:251). This is suggested in a statement by the Russian P. Tikhmenev, made about 1863 (quoted in Dixon 1933:148), who believed that the native plant used by the Tlingit had "no strength" whether smoked or held under the lip.

Even though the native plant was no longer grown the Tlingit continued to chew tobacco at least into the 1880s (Krause 1956:109; Emmons n.d., Chap. 5:31; de Laguna 1972:411), but no information was found on whether the Haida chewed commercial tobacco as they did the native variety (Curtis 1916:131-132). Tobacco was also consumed as an important material on ceremonial occasions (Swanton 1905:162-163; 1908:338), particularly those associated with funeral rites (Swanton 1905:52; Krause 1956:156,158).

The substitution of smoking for the aboriginal chewing of tobacco at funeral feasts by the Tlingit (Emmons n.d., Chap. 6:17-18; Swanton 1908:430) and, presumably, the Haida, is perhaps best understood in the context of the belief that fire was a medium of transformation (Curtis 1916: 138,156). Tobacco, as well as food, was placed in the fire by both the Haida (Swanton 1905:35,54; Blackman 1973:48) and the Tlingit (Emmons n.d., Chap. 6:17-18; Swanton 1908:431) for the benefit and pleasure of the honoured dead. In all likelihood the Haida and Tlingit were struck by the obvious connection between burning tobacco in a fire for the dead and burning tobacco in a pipe for the living. Indeed the Tlingit dead were invited to the feast and were assumed to be present (Emmons n.d., Chap. 6:17-18). One is tempted to speculate that after the introduction of smoking the latter became more exclusively a ceremonial activity and that chewing or sucking continued but more usually as a secular, recreational activity (see de Laguna 1972:411; Krause 1956:108). Unfortunately ethnohistoric data are not clear enough to confirm this suggestion (see also Emmons n.d., Chap. 6:17). The acquisition of a new and, therefore, prestigious ceremony (e.g. smoking) may also have been a factor in its adoption (see Blackman 1973:51). No mention was found in the literature to support the idea that the Haida substituted smoking for chewing at funeral feasts. Swanton (1905:52) simply states that people smoked at funeral feasts.

The pipes used at Tlingit ceremonies were elaborately carved, depicting, in some instances, crests of the pipe owner. These pipes were of native manufacture most often of some exotic wood, usually from the stocks of trade guns (Krause 1956:108, Pl. 1, Figs. 2&3, 156, 158; Emmons n.d., Chap. 5:31-32; de Laguna 1972:411, Pl. 121-123; Holm 1982:126-131). Emmons (n.d., Chap. 5:31) claims that there were also pipes for everyday use which "were small, plain, and generally commercial articles." De Laguna (1972:411) records the use of a meershaum pipe by a Tlingit chief at feasts for the dead. There are wooden pipes which are based on the meershaum type (e.g. B.C.P.M. 10513) but apparently no argillite examples.

The majority of functional, decorated, wooden pipes are identified and sometimes documented as Tlingit. The relative scarcity of Haida examples may reflect the differing importance of the mortuary potlatch (the context in which the pipes were used) in each society. The Tlingit had only one potlatch of consequence, that which was motivated by respect for the dead, whereas for the Haida the mortuary potlatch was of secondary importance to the house-building potlatch (Swanton 1908:434-435; Rosman and Ruble 1971: 48; Blackman 1973:48). Thus the greater emphasis on the mortuary complex may explain the greater number of Tlingit ceremonial pipes. Blackman (1977) argues that the contemporary survival of the mortuary potlatch demonstrates that it was more central to Haida culture than the house-raising potlatch which disappeared at the turn of this century. However, she does not deny the priority assigned to the latter in Haida culture prior to the extensive changes brought in by depopulation, missionization and the establishment of the reserve system.

The few wooden ceremonial pipes attributed as Haida are closer in form to the early Haida motif argillite pipe, Kaufmann's oval type — herein called the ceremonial pipe form (see page 37) — than they are to the Tlingit wooden pipe (e.g. Holm 1982:126-131). The pierced, open-work of the Choris pipe (Drew & Wilson 1980:75), a British Museum pipe of similar form and iconography (Wright 1982:51, Fig. 4), a pipe in a private U.S. collection (Holm & Reid 1975:#1), and a pipe in the U.S. National Museum (Niblack 1890: Fig. 271), is a common feature of many argillite ceremonial pipe types (e.g. Fig. 13) and seems to be a stylistic trait that is not as common on Tlingit wooden ceremonial pipes (Holm in Holm & Reid 1975:35; Holm 1982:126-131). This stylistic feature was elaborated in the elegant openwork structure of some argillite Haida motif (Fig. 16) and ship (Fig. 44) panel pipes. The stylistic unity of the Haida ceremonial pipe in both its functional wooden and almost-never-smoked argillite form suggests that the latter is derived from the wooden prototype.

Knut Fladmark's (1973:76) suggestion that the argillite industry began with the production of functional argillite replacements of the fragile, clay, trade pipe (see Appendix) is oversimplified. Fladmark's theory is based on artifacts that he excavated from an old traditional Haida house located at Tlell on the east coast of Graham Island in the Queen Charlottes. His theory does not account for the presence of one complete and, possibly, one fragmentary, argillite ceremonial pipe form in the same excavation that produced the argillite clay pipe forms (Fladmark 1973: 7a&b). A more complete theory would be that, while allowing for the production of functional types that were used perhaps for recreational smoking (see Emmons n.d., Chap. 5:31 quoted above), the first argillite pipes produced for sale were ceremonial pipe forms (cf. Holm 1982:135). This position is also suggested by lack of argillite trade pipe types with pre-1850 collection dates. In addition, it seems quite unlikely that Euro-American traders and sailors would have been interested in plain argillite facsimiles of clay trade pipes. See also Carol Sheehan's (1981:75-76) criticism of Fladmark's hypothesis, particularly his arbitrary selection of 1810 as the date that the house was occupied.

While it seems logical to conclude that the Haida motif ceremonial pipe was the first type produced, it must be remembered that the rare, small, compact, ship pipe was also probably made at the beginning of the tradition. Both types experienced a gradual change toward the panel form. Examination of the reliably dated artifacts has led us to conclude that this evolution was contemporaneous rather than sequential.

The above discussion has attempted to demonstrate the importance that the aboriginal use of tobacco had in the history of commercial argillite production. This connection between native tobacco and argillite is confirmed by two drawings of the native plant that were obtained from Capt. Klue, by C. F. Newcombe about 1898 (Turner & Taylor 1972:250-251, Fig. 1; Drew & Wilson 1980:63). As will be shown, these drawings are the key to explaining floral images which appear on a number of argillite artifacts including ship pipes, clay type pipes, and round dishes.

5
A Chronology for Argillite Artifact Types

Alan L. Hoover

Overleaf
Euro-American Figure,
Figure 74, see page 87

The history of argillite carving is characterized by the sequential appearance of different artifact types. Before discussing their chronology it is necessary to define the types.

ceremonial pipe forms (Fig. 9): basically oval in profile, featuring images of Haida origin.

Haida panel pipes (Fig. 28): illustrate intertwined Haida motifs in a horizontal format noticeably longer than tall in profile.

ship panel pipes (Fig. 39): horizontal profile with interconnected images of Euro-American origin.

animal form bowls (Figs. 59 & 62): replicas of traditional oil vessels carved in the shape of a mammal or bird or based on traditional wooden containers often with flaring sides and undulating rim.

Euro-American figures (Fig. 66): vertical human figures in Euro-American clothing. Usually men but occasionally women are represented. Included in this category are figures of domestic Euro-American animals (e.g. dogs, fowl).

Euro-American motif plates (Fig. 76): a circular plate decorated with geometric and floral designs of Euro-American origin. Oval forms are called platters. These types along with knives, forks, mugs and wine glasses of argillite are collectively called Western tableware.

recorders (Fig. 83): musical instruments resembling Euro-American recorders with mouthpiece and finger holes.

early trade pipes (Fig. 87): exhibit a tapering, cylindrical bowl at the end of a long stem. The bowl is often elaborated with floral motifs and may be carved as a portrait head of a Euro-American. Early trade pipes are derived from the clay trade pipe.

early totem poles (Figs. 99 & 120): considered miniature versions of Haida wooden totem poles. Examples from the late 1860s and 1870s are shallower in cross section and shorter in height than poles from the 1880s.

chests and model houses (Figs. 126 & 127): miniatures of rectangular wooden containers and Haida plank houses.

Haida plates and platters (Fig. 131): both circular and oval forms decorated with traditional two-dimensional designs. In some examples, figures carved in relief are included.

Haida figures and figure groups (Figs. 140 & 149): single shaman or chief figures and multiple figure groups usually depicting an episode from Haida mythology.

late trade pipes (Fig. 175): evolved from the early trade pipe type but usually larger and less well-formed. The exposed stem is still present.

late totem poles (Figs. 193 & 205): usually smaller than the 1880s sub-type, often 30 centimetres or less in height.

late platters, chests, etc. (Fig. 222): two-dimensional decoration is often simple. Included in this category are miscellaneous carvings such as canoes and mermaids.

Some of the above designations for types of artifacts are modifications of terminology first used by Carole Kaufmann (1969) and Robin Wright (1977, 1979, 1980, 1982). 'Ceremonial pipe forms' replaces Kaufmann's "oval pipe type". 'Haida panel pipe' is derived from Kaufmann's "pipe panel" and "panel" types and Wright's "Haida motif pipe". It should be noted that Wright's category includes Kaufmann's "pipe panel", "panel", and "oval pipe" forms. 'Ship panel pipe' is a subset of Wright's "ship pipe" modified by 'panel' to differentiate examples in the British Columbia Provincial Museum from the rare, small and compact ship pipe type as represented by the Berlin Museum artifact (Wright 1979:42, Fig. 3). 'Early trade pipes' includes Wright's "plain clay type" pipes, "plain portrait" pipes and "elaborate portrait" pipes. 'Late trade pipes' is substituted for "Haida motif clay type" pipes.

The following discussion concerning the dating of these types of argillite carvings is the result of two complimentary processes. First, the elimination of unacceptable dates proposed by other investigators, discussed in the Appendix. Second, the inclusion of additional dates that have not been considered by the two major chronologists.

The earliest date associated with the manufacture of argillite pipes is 1829 (Green 1915:86). An 1833 register at the Perth Museum, Perth, Scotland, lists four pipes collected from "Frazers River" by Colin Robertson (Hoover n.d.). Which pipes these are is complicated by the fact that upon re-cataloguing the collection five pipes were given a Robertson provenance. One (cat. no. 1978:1761) is obviously not Haida but in all likelihood Salish. Although a second (cat. no. 1978: 469; Drew & Wilson 1980:77) may be Haida, it does not appear to be made of argillite. A third pipe (cat. no. 1978:472; Drew & Wilson 1980:154) is stylistically later and therefore presumed to have been falsely attributed to the Robertson collection. The two remaining pipes (cat. nos. 1978:468; 1978:471) are both stylistically early and unquestionably made of argillite. Both can probably be assigned to the ceremonial pipe form category, although cat. no. 1978:471, composed of three main figures,

tends toward the elongated panel pipe form. The earliest date for the small ship type pipe is reported as 1830 (Wright 1977:74, Pl. 14). The Scouler collection at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris includes a ceremonial pipe form (cat. no. 79.5.4), a round dish with Euro-American designs (cat. no. 79.5.5) and a carved, rectangular carved bowl type (cat. no. 79.5.3). All three were apparently sent to Scouler by William Fraser Tolmie in 1839 (see Appendix). Objects collected by the Wilkes Expedition in 1841 included Haida motif and ship panel pipes, Haida motif animal form bowl and a circular plate form decorated with Euro-American motifs. As previously noted the similar stylistic development of both Haida motif and ship pipe argues for contemporaneous production. The end date for Haida panel pipes is unclear although Wright (1977:104) claims that both the latter and the ship panel pipe were produced until at least 1870. Both Wright (1977:88, Pl. 33) and Kaufmann (1969: 191) note an 1872 collection date for the ship panel pipe. Within the early trade pipe category Wright refers to a plain clay type pipe with a pre-1853 collection date (1977:96, Pl. 40) and an elaborate portrait-pipe with a pre-1866 collection date (1977:103, Pl. 47). The earliest reference to the manufacture of recorders appears to be 1852 (Drew & Wilson 1980:186). The earliest date on argillite totem poles appears to be 1867. This date is associated with two hollow-backed poles with oval entranceways, now at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (cat. nos. 2119=428, 2120=429). (The artifact numbering system at the Pitt Rivers is confusing. Both poles are also associated with the number P.R. IV.154, Coll. Misc. VI.125.) These were collected by the photographer Frederick Dally (Hoover n.d.). Although this date cannot be confirmed it should be noted that Dally was in British Columbia from 1866 until 1870 when he left, eventually settling in England in 1872 (Calvert 1977:30). Also at Oxford are two plates with floral designs (cat. nos. P.R. IV.136, P.R. IV.143) and a "slate figure in long garment with bone head" (cat. no. P.R. IV.145) that are given a Dally provenance but apparently have no collection date associated. These three artifacts were not seen by the authors.

The earliest date for a Euro-American figure is 1841, assigned to an artifact in the National Museum of Denmark (cat. no. H.c. 1380) that was apparently collected by the Wilkes Expedition (Drew & Wilson 1980:191). The two dates on the Haida figure type are before 1899 and 1901-02 (Kaufmann 1969:217). An 1883 collection date exists for the Haida figure group (Kaufmann 1969:212) and the elaborate argillite box or chest (Holm 1974:#77-#80).

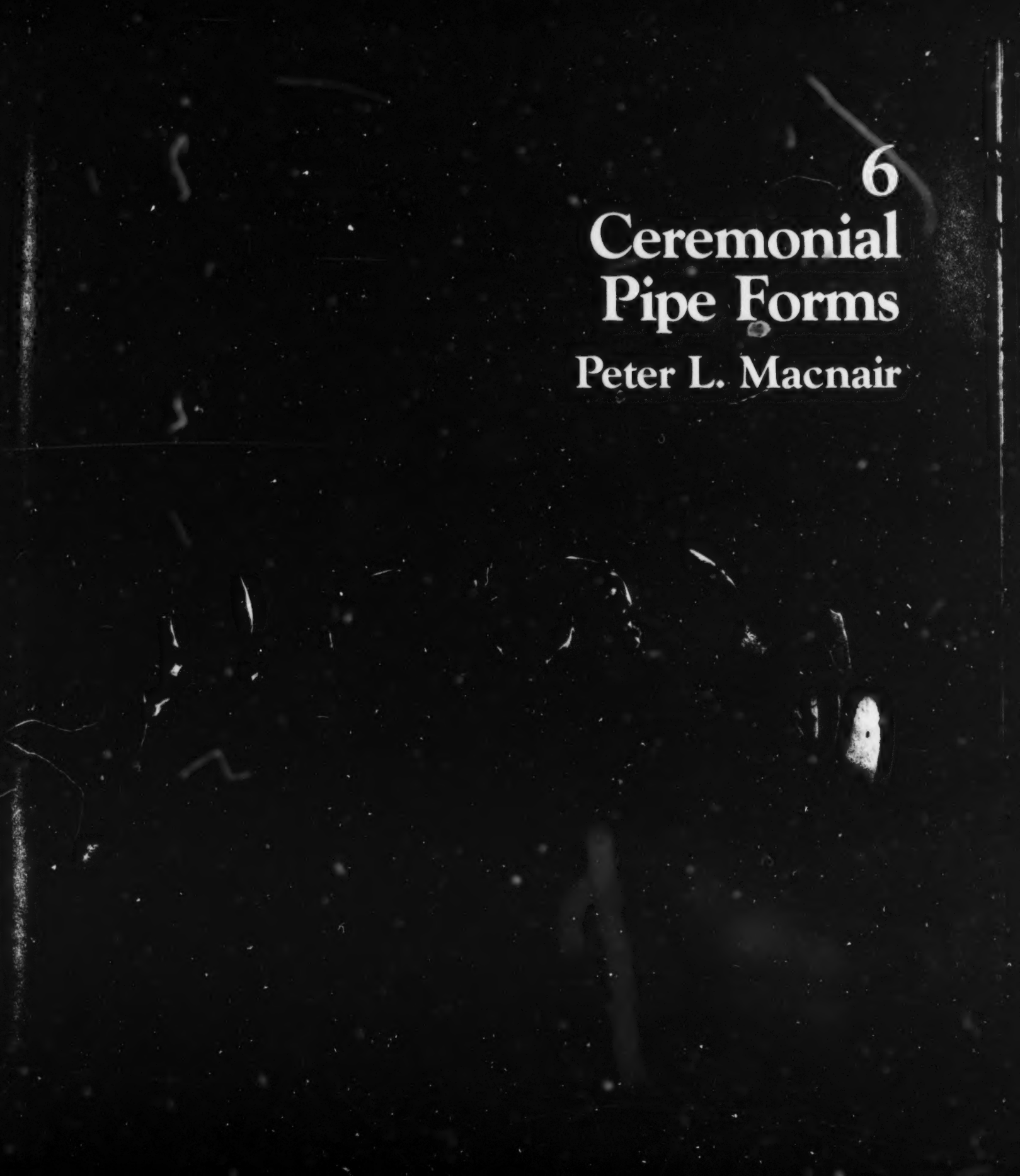
Table 1: Earliest Documented Dates for Argillite Artifact Types

argillite tradition begins	before 1829
ceremonial pipe form	1833
small ship pipe	1830
Haida panel pipe	1841
ship panel pipe	1841 (to at least 1872)
animal form bowl	1841
carved rectangular bowl	1839
Euro-American motif plate	1839
Euro-American figure	1841
early trade pipes	
plain clay trade type pipe	pre-1853
plain portrait clay trade type pipe	?
elaborate portrait clay trade type pipe	pre-1866
recorders	1852
early totem poles	1867
chests	1883
Haida motif elaborate plates and platters	?
Haida figures	before 1899
Haida figure groups	1883
late trade pipes	?
late totem poles	?
late platters and chests	?

The early presence of both Euro-American and Haida derived motifs suggests that Kaufmann's concept of three separate and successive stylistic periods (see Appendix) is incorrect. All that can be concluded about trends in motif types is that through time Euro-American motifs disappeared from the argillite repertoire. When this happened is not clear but collection dates of circa 1870 on a field-acquired mixed Haida-Western motif plate and an 1883 date on a Haida motif plate (Kaufmann 1969:197, 207) suggest the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

6
Ceremonial Pipe Forms

Peter L. Macnair



Overleaf
Figure 9
Cat. No. 15794
L. 11.2cm W. 5.1cm H. 2.6cm

Ceremonial pipe illustrating an eagle, with an open curved beak, lying on its back. Resting on the bird's chest is a small humanoid figure, head thrown back, hands grasping the bird's lower beak. Its lower legs extend past the bird's legs.

Kaufmann (1969:115) argues that the earliest argillite carvings are pipes of a type she classifies as "oval pipes". According to her, these are basically oval in profile and were inspired by wooden pipes which antedated the argillite examples by only a few years. Her descriptive term is somewhat meaningless and we prefer to call what is probably the oldest type of argillite carving the *ceremonial pipe form* (Fig. 9).

We know that pipe-smoking was a post-contact phenomenon and we assume the Haida and Tlingit very quickly began to carve elaborate wooden pipes for ceremonial and ritual use. The first evidence of what appears to be a wooden pipe is a Haida example, illustrated by Louis Choris in his *Voyage Pittoresque Autor du Monde*, published in Paris in 1822. This Russian painter was a member of the First Kotzebue Expedition which explored the Bering Sea in 1816. At the end of this venture, Choris settled in Paris where he published an account of his experiences (VanStone 1960:145-146).

Choris' pipe remains somewhat of a puzzle for no mention of it is made in the text. Yet is is undoubtedly Haida for the caption reads". . . pipe des îles de la Reine Charlotte à la Côte Nord ouest d'America . . ." and indicates it is in the collection of the Duke of Reggio. How the Duke acquired the pipe is not indicated. If it was received as a gift from Choris, further explanation is required because Choris did not visit the Queen Charlotte Islands. In the event that Choris did present the pipe to Reggio, he could have obtained it at Unalaska, distribution centre for furs shipped from the headquarters of the Russian American Company at Sitka. It is conceivable that curios collected from Haida and Tlingit suppliers of fur made their way to Europe through the trading company.

Ceremonial argillite pipes assume several distinctive forms. Some, as noted in Chapter 4, have an open, pierced, structure (e.g. Fig. 13) that is similar to the Choris wooden pipe, whereas others are compact and fairly bulky (e.g. Fig. 11), resembling Tlingit wooden pipes. Often a cylindrical, almost free-standing, pipe bowl is featured (Fig. 14) although it may also be incorporated into the head of the main creature as in figures 9, 10 and 11. Both are acceptable means of rendering the bowl in wooden pipes; the free-standing cylinder can be seen to represent the metal cylinder, often a section of an old musket barrel, as found on a number of wooden examples.

Also classed as ceremonial pipes are those shaped like a cockle or a clamshell, sometimes with a personified siphon extending beyond the shell as a stem. The most literal example of this type is found in the British Museum (Drew & Wilson 1980:158). Another, without siphon, is in the Queen Charlotte Islands Museum (Drew & Wilson 1980: 146). While these pipes are not well documented in time they have a counterpart in the famous Tlell pipe which seems to date at least from the 1830s. It is interesting to speculate that in using the clamshell as a pipe form, the Haida artist may be saying something about the combined use of tobacco and burnt clamshells.

The pipe illustrated in figure 10 plays on the cockleshell image but instead the artist has depicted Raven as the main figure and placed a human face within the circle that functions as the bird's shoulder joint. This type of visual punning is an accepted artistic device in Northwest Coast Indian sculpture and flat design.

The earliest documented argillite ceremonial pipe appears to be in the collection of the Peabody Museum, Salem (cat. no. E3494) and was accessioned in 1830. While this postdates certain panel pipes described in the next chapter, we remain convinced that the ceremonial pipe was the earliest form of argillite carving. It seems logical because of the connection, in form, with Haida and Tlingit wooden pipes which we know were smoked. Kaufmann takes the same position although we have shown that her use of museum records was not particularly rigorous and that these, in the end, do not support her thesis.

Figure 10
Cat. No. 14810
L. 8.6cm W. 2.4cm H. 5.8cm

Ceremonial pipe in the form of a raven with a human face contained within a circular shoulder joint. At the stem end is a human figure (scarcely visible).

Figure 11
Cat. No. 15703
L. 9.6cm W. 4.5cm H. 6cm

Ceremonial pipe consisting of a reclining bird with curved beak and a kneeling human at its shoulder. A head, which may represent the bird's tail, is located between the bird's claws.

Figure 12
Cat. No. 14991
L. 15.8cm W. 2.7cm H. 6.8cm

Ceremonial pipe composed of six figures. At the right is a bird, perhaps a raven, with a straight beak. Below the bird's large ears is a seated human figure, hands on knees, in a prone position. Holding the bird's lower beak is a second humanoid lacking lower limbs. The rules of flat design suggest that the arms and wing-like appendage relate to the large humanoid head at upper left. Below the large hand is a detached bird's head with angled beak. Beneath the large humanoid head is a larval-like creature with human arms, with a crest arching up from the back of its head and wing-like appendages.

Figure 13
Cat. No. 14950
L. 16.1cm W. 2.5cm H. 8.2cm

Ceremonial pipe with a whale forming the bowl and an eagle the stem. Arched between the mouths of the animals is a human. A humanoid face appears in the space between the tails of the whale and the bird.

Figure 14
Cat. No. 15746
L. 13.8cm W. 2.8cm H. 5.2cm

Ceremonial pipe composed of a large whale with a small human in its mouth, a second human lying on its back between the whale's "ears", and a large humanoid holding the cylindrical pipe bowl. The whale's tail is curled back directly below the pectoral fins. U-forms (not visible) under the whale's jaw may represent the dorsal fin.

7

Haida Panel Pipes

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Figure 15
Cat. No. 14988
L. 30.7cm W. 1.7cm H. 7.2cm

Haida panel pipe. At right is a bird with humanoid lips and a long, down-turned beak which connects with the eared head of a reclining, bear-like creature with five-fingered hands. Facing the latter is a seated, bear-like figure with clawed forepaws which holds the legs of a human in its mouth. To the left of the devouring-bear motif is a bird with a recruved beak which touches the pipe bowl. Behind the bird's head is the eared head of a horizontal, bear-like figure with five-fingered forepaws which grasp the straight-beaked mouth of another bird. The latter's claws can be seen just to the right of the bear's buttocks.

If we seek to define classes of pipes within that larger group which depict only creatures from the Haida cosmos, we can easily distinguish the *Haida panel pipe* (Fig. 15). Pipes of this sort are far more numerous than Haida ceremonial pipe forms and are worthy of treatment as a separate type. Characteristically they feature only figures from the Haida world and assume a horizontal, long and not overly high profile. In cross section they are very thin. They may be exceptionally flat (Fig. 16) or show a more rounded, sculptural form (Fig. 17) but we believe these differences relate more to personal style than a distinguishable trend towards a less functional shape. If we want to claim an evolution in pipe form, we can perhaps argue that the Haida panel pipe is conceptually, if not chronologically, later than the Haida ceremonial pipe form because it is less potentially functional given its thin panel-like format and greatly reduced bowl.

Viewed in profile, the majority of Haida panel pipes are trapezoidal in outline (Fig. 18) although some may be considered as rounded (Fig. 19). The earliest well-documented pipes of this type date from the early 1830s; what we can consider type-specimens are pieces in the British Museum, collected in 1832 and 1834, and those donated to the Perth Museum by Colin Robertson in 1833. That this form remained entrenched throughout the decade of 1830 is confirmed by the Scouler-Tolmie pipe, shipped to Europe in 1839, and the stunning Wilkes pipes acquired in 1841.

The Haida figures on these pipes are intertwined and interconnected in various ways. Creatures may clasp one another or be linked together through a common tongue. This latter device is seen on raven rattles (Fig. 20) where it is said to represent a man sucking magical power from a frog. But Robin Wright has pointed out (1977:67) that similar linking is found on carved handles of mountain goat horn spoons where an implication of power-questing is less credible. As a result, it is easiest, and perhaps best for this purpose, to see the common tongue simply as an artistic device. Usually the figures represented on Haida panel pipes are stacked more than one high, enhancing the overall movement of the carving and suggesting a certain antithesis between individual creatures. In a few examples we see only a single line of figures strung along a horizontal plane (Fig. 21).

A classic example of a Haida panel pipe can be seen in figure 28. It is long (more than four times its height), trapezoidal in outline and contains only creatures familiar to the Haida. It employs a masterly understanding of traditional sculptural form as the hollowed eyesockets, raised eyelid lines and massive eyebrows indicate. And while the two-dimensional elements are simple, they conform exactly to the formline principle. The raven on the killer whale's back (actually representing a mythical whale, Raven Fin), illustrates this clearly. The rendering of the bird's wing is typical, with ovoid shoulder joint, u-form base, two terminal feathers with stylized back feathers above, all demonstrating the artist's complete understanding of flat design.

The Haida panel pipe is well represented in the Reif collection indicating its popularity during the early period of argillite production. In time, certain of these panel pipes were completed without the addition of bowl and stem hole. Both Kaufmann and Wright prefer to call these panels, eliminating the reference to pipe. Whether these represent pipes the artist never quite finished, or deliberately left as such (confirming the non-functional intent), does not really matter; they are conceptually close enough to the Haida panel pipe to be classified as such.

The majority of Haida panel pipes maintain a clear knowledge of classic sculptural and two-dimensional form. A few are rather hastily carved (Figs. 22 & 23) yet nearly all indicate the artists were fully accomplished. Therefore, we have to assume most of them were producing similar masterpieces in the form of ceremonial objects for traditional use. One is amazed at the differences in personal style seen in most examples from this period. If the construction of wing designs is carefully compared in all the examples here presented, it can be seen that these elements, however basic, differ one from another. The shape of the shoulder ovoid may be squared (Fig. 24) or rounded (Fig. 18), the formline ovoids may be massive (Fig. 18) or thin (Fig. 16), indicating ways in which we can begin to distinguish personal style. Rare examples showing where one pipe has been copied from another (Wright 1977:67) show such distinctions in style that we are able to assert the two were not executed by the same artist. Certain examples indicate such unique qualities that we can assume these were carved by the same person or, if not, by individuals who carefully followed the inspiration of a single individual. The pipe illustrated in figure 16 is noticeably unique: The carving is flat, the heads are massive in proportion to the bodies, eyebrows are massive and take up most of the forehead, eyes are large, the eyelid lines extend to take up most of the eyesocket, formline ovoids are massive and angular. Similar examples are illustrated in Barbeau (1957:73) and Duff *et al* (1967: No. 205).

Figure 17
Cat. No. 15695 R
L. 23.8cm W. 1.7cm H. 8.5cm

Haida panel pipe fragment composed of five complete and two headless figures. At lower left is a bird in a supine position with its head and tail below its wings. Resting on the bird's wing, in a supine position with knees drawn up, is a headless humanoid. The latter's arms are grasped by the forepaws of a frog-like creature with the pipe bowl in the centre of its back. The frog's hind feet rest on the back of a raven-like bird whose beak holds the tongue of a human who in turn grasps the lower beak of the bird. The human leans back resting its buttocks on the drawn-up knees of a clawed and headless quadruped that grasps the abdomen of a bear-like figure with an open, toothless mouth.

Figure 16
Cat. No. 15686 R
L. 40.3cm W. 1.5cm H. 10.8cm

Haida panel pipe composed of seven figures. The figure at right appears to be a bear with clawed forepaws, an extremely long tongue and a protruding snout. It lacks hind limbs. The second figure, a kneeling quadruped, has a humanoid head thrown back and clawed forelimbs. The third figure is a whale with a small dorsal fin, elaborate pectoral fin and a tail that features plain tertiary u-shapes that are characteristic of this artist (cf. Sheehan 1981: 141, Fig. No. 8). The next figure is a human with extended tongue, whose hands are immediately left of its chin and its lower limb and torso are below the wing of a facing bird with a sharply bent beak. The next figure is a quadruped, with head missing, that grasps the chest of the final figure, a seated humanoid with head thrown back so that its ears touch its buttocks.

Figure 18
Cat. No. 15692 R
L. 35cm W. 2.2cm H. 11.1cm

Haida panel pipe. The figure at right is an unidentified eared creature. The significance of the large, reversed, ovoid beneath the chin is unknown, presumably it relates to its forelimbs. Above this figure's body is a humanoid raven, wearing a tall, ringed hat. Its forelimbs are feathered and clawed. Beneath and to the left of its talons are wings and beneath the latter, a tail. Facing the bird is an eared, bear-like animal holding what may be a frog in its mouth. The frog and the raven's tongues are joined. Behind the bear, facing in the opposite direction, is a whale with pectoral fins and tail. The final figure is unidentified. It has a humanoid-like face except that it has ears and a nose that has an extended septum which reaches its upper lip. Between its clawed, bent legs and its thrown-back head is a design unit — an ovoid with attached u-form — that presumably signifies the creature's body.

Figure 19
Cat. No. 15694 R
L. 39.2cm W. 1.5cm H. 10.5cm

Haida panel pipe composed of eight figures, three of which form the lower margin of the artifact. The first of these, at the left, is an earless, bear-like animal with extended tongue sitting on the ringed hat of a humanoid with claw-like hands. The third figure is attributed as a frog. Above the latter is a bird with recurving beak. On top of the bird is an insect with a segmented abdomen, a single pair of wings and a curled proboscis. Facing the insect is a whale-like creature whose body bends forward and back so that its tail meets its chest. Large pectoral fins extend back from its neck. Facing away from the whale is a bear. The final figure is in a supine position between the legs of the quadruped at lower left. Its identification is unclear although it appears to have body parts, located below its open mouth, that are either fins or perhaps a tail. The partial ovoid and u-form seen below each hind leg of the quadruped also appear to belong to this unidentified creature.

Figure 20
Cat. No. 96-2
L. 32.5cm W. 10.5cm H. 11cm

Haida raven rattle. The carved details demonstrate that the rules of Haida sculpture apply equally to large and small objects.

Figure 21
Cat. No. 15693 R
L. 36cm W. 1.9cm H. 11cm

Haida panel pipe composed of four figures. At right is a bird with recurved beak, probably an eagle, facing an unidentified creature with an eared, humanoid head that features a segmented cylinder rising above it and an extended tongue. The creature's legs are drawn up to its body which has a curved wing-like covering, the upper edge of which is embellished by a line of parallel dashing. Holding the tip of the cylinder in its straight beak is a raven, with wings, tail and claws. The last figure has a large head with a toothed mouth touching the raven's ears, and arms bent at the elbows with three-fingered hands.

Figure 22
Cat. No. 15699 R
L. 21cm W. 3.7cm H. 7.2cm

Haida panel pipe. The figure at right is a bear-like animal facing a human. At the back of the human's head is a pipe bowl which separates it from a whale. The whale's dorsal fin angles back and up while its pectoral fins extend out to the left. Below the pectoral fins is a human facing downwards.

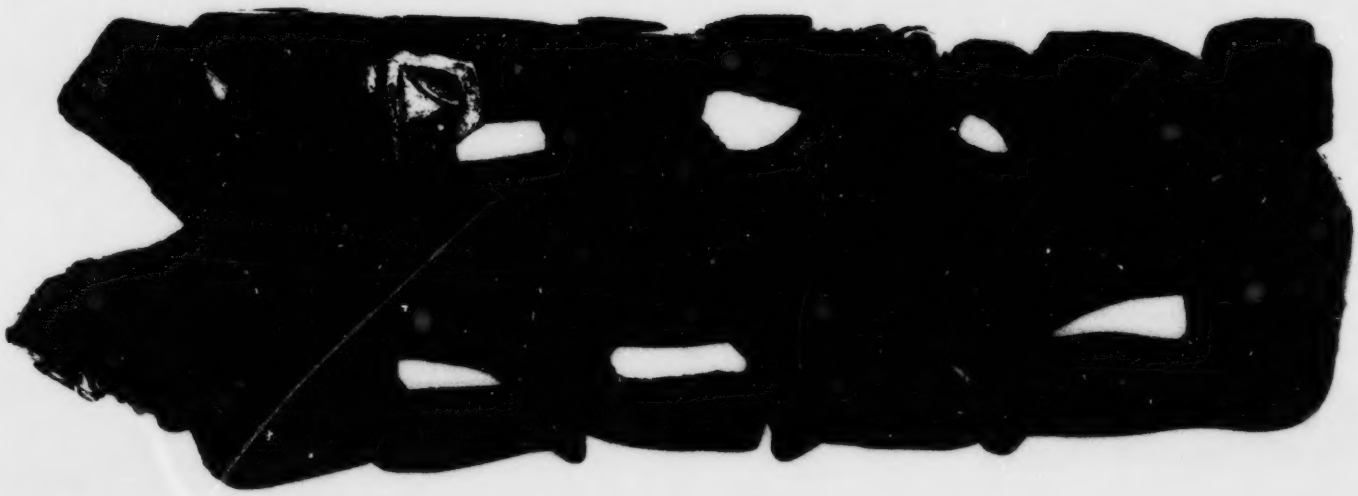


Figure 23
Cat. No. 14990
L. 24.1cm W. 4.8cm H. 2.2cm

Haida panel pipe. At the left is a bird holding a frog in its mouth. Facing the latter is a quadruped with head bent back, knees drawn up to its shoulders and hands extended toward the bird's beak. To the right is a raven. Its tail is elaborated into a humanoid figure with large hands placed in an extremely contorted position behind its head. Its hind legs and feet are seen below the wing or fin of the creature whose eared head touches the tip of the bird's beak. Below the pectoral fins or wings is its tail. Facing the latter figure is an eared creature with a large head, small body and very large hand, sitting on its lower legs. Behind this figure, facing in the opposite direction, is a whale with bifurcated tail but no pectoral fins. Facing the whale and grasping its lower jaw is a small humanoid figure with flexed legs and head thrown back. The last figure at extreme right is a small, upside-down bird.

Figure 24
Cat. No. 14987
L. 21.5cm W. 2.2cm H. 6.8cm

Haida panel pipe. A bear-like animal at right holds a small unidentified creature in its mouth. The forelimbs of the latter rest on the back of a kneeling, eared quadruped with an exposed tongue. The next figure is seated, knees drawn up to its elbows. Its extended tongue touches the tongue of a facing whale. The latter has a segmented, ribbed body, large pectoral fins, a bifurcated tail and a long dorsal fin on its back. An eared head with forearms but no body is behind the whale. Its paws grasp the lower jaw of a reclining raven with which its tongue is joined.

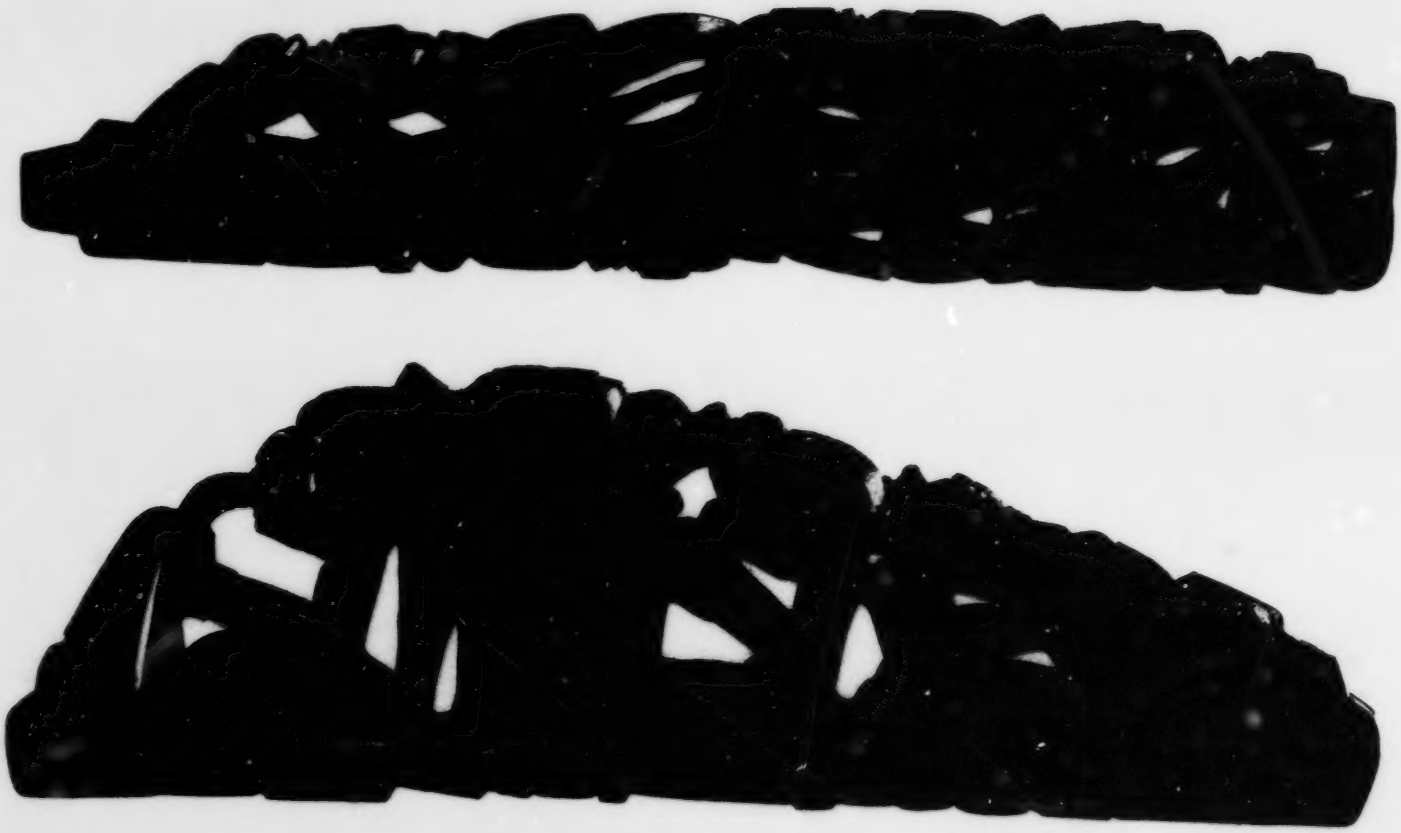


Figure 25
Cat. No. 15803
L. 21.2cm W. 3.9cm H. 10cm

Haida panel pipe composed of seven figures. At the lower left is a kneeling humanoid with animal ears with its hand in its mouth. Above is a large bear-like head with an incomplete bird, just the wings, in its mouth. Its clawed forepaws rest on the shoulders of another bear. The latter figure's paws grasp the pipe bowl and its hind feet rest on the head of a whale. The whale's pectoral fins extend behind its head and its tail bends back under its jaw. The whale holds a bird in its mouth and another humanoid figure sits above its nostrils.

Figure 26
Cat. No. 15798
L. 21.1cm W. 8.1cm H. 2.9cm

Haida panel pipe featuring seven figures. At the right is a large, eared animal head with an extended tongue, a cheek design, and front and hind limbs. A ribbed band extends down from the elbow of the forelimb which may be a curled tail, suggesting that it is a wasco (sea wolf). The curled tail encloses a humanoid face. Connected to the wasco's tongue is an unidentified figure with a circular eye, a forelimb that is either fin- or wing-like and a clawed hind limb. Behind the latter is a frog that shares a tongue with a humanoid head that has forelimbs grasping the curled band, but does not appear to have hind limbs or a body. To the left of this figure is a creature, perhaps a sea grizzly bear, with an eared head, an extended tongue, forelimbs and a curved, segmented body with a fluked tail. Its paws grasp the large ears of a humanoid figure with flexed legs and arms extended back to its buttocks.

Figure 27
Cat. No. 15784
L. 27.7cm W. 1.7cm H. 9.3cm

Haida panel pipe. The figure at the right is a bird. Its beak rests on the head of an eared humanoid whose legs bend back and feet touch the forehead of a bird which has a fragmentary beak. The humanoid's hands grasp the dorsal fin that rises from the head of a whale. Below the whale's head and to the right of its pectoral fins is the eared head of an animal, the hind legs of which touch the whale's tail. Facing the whale is a bear-like animal whose tongue joins that of the whale. To the left of this animal is the upper body of a figure whose forepaws touch a supine headless body with flexed fore and hind limbs.

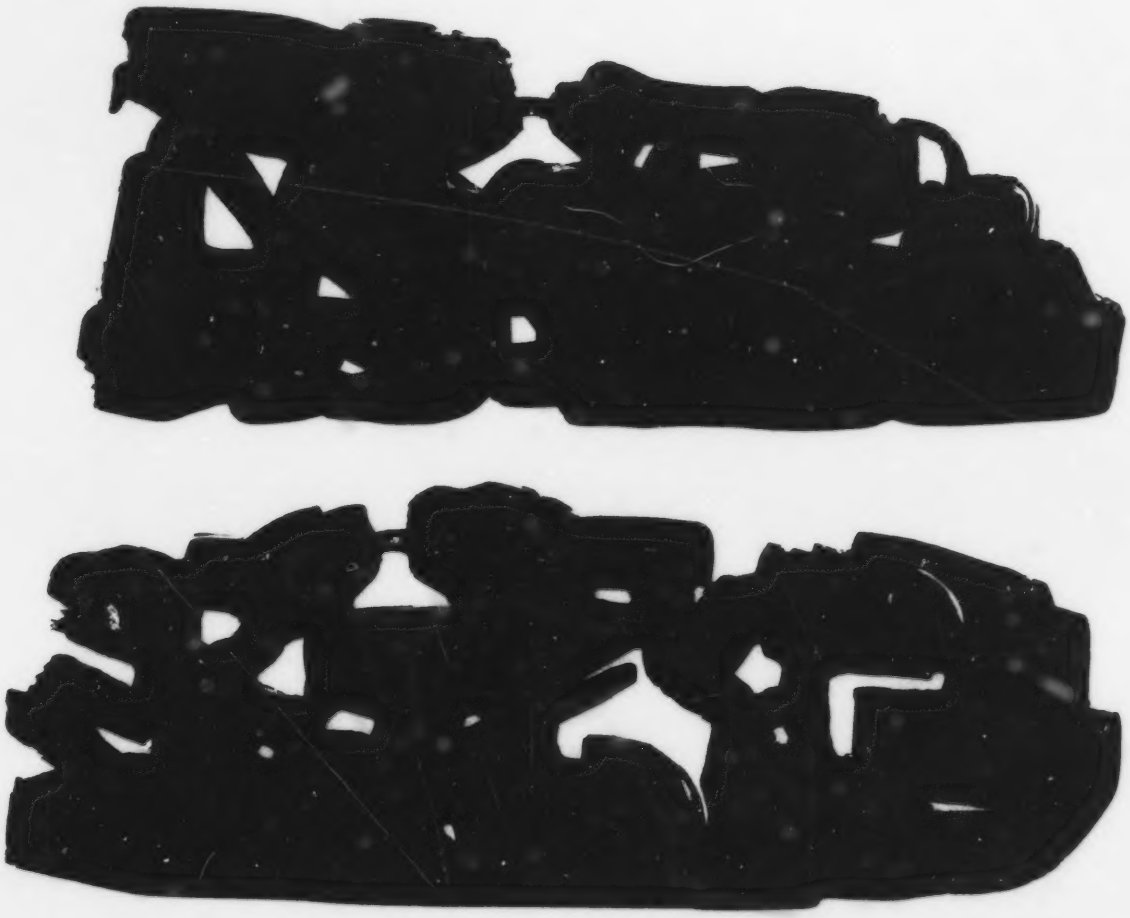


Figure 28
Cat. No. 14677
L. 31.2cm W. 1.8cm H. 7.7cm

Haida panel pipe. The larger figure at left is an insect with curled proboscis, two pairs of wings, and a bifurcated tail; and with claw-like hind feet resting on the knees of a small, supine human figure that is grasping its own feet. The hind legs of a frog are grasped in the insect's mouth and the forefeet rest on the human's neck. The next figure to the right is a whale with its dorsal fin elaborated into a raven's head with wings and feet. The whale's tail turns back and touches the mouth of a prone animal with clawed fore and rear limbs. Next is a supine, bear-like figure holding the bifurcated tail of a fragmentary, unidentified, tadpole-like creature in its mouth. Below the bear is a bird with a recurved beak, perhaps an eagle. Touching the head of the tadpole is the curled proboscis of a second insect which has a large jumping leg like a grasshopper. It should be noted that moths and butterflies are the only native insects with probosci that curl downward. They do not have jumping legs nor do they have two pairs of wings like the insect figure at extreme left. This smaller insect sits on the chest of another bird, probably a raven.

Figure 29
Cat. No. 15702 R
L. 21.6cm W. 2.9cm H. 5.8cm

Haida panel pipe. The figure at the right is a bear with arched back, forelimbs and ears. It crouches between the oversize ears of the head of a large animal, the open mouth of which grasps a humanoid head with flexed arms. The next figure is a bird, probably a raven, with open beak and wings. The lower, rear edge of each wing has a tapered extension which then bends 90 degrees and terminates in a segmented, rectanguloid form. The bird's beak touches the chin of a kneeling human figure whose hands grasp its beak. Behind the human's head is a whale, with extended tongue and pectoral fins. Below this head is an upside-down raven that faces in the opposite direction to the whale's head. Joining the back of the bird's head is a disembodied, humanoid head.

Figure 30
Cat. No. 15700 R
L. 16.8cm W. 3.3cm H. 5.5cm

Haida panel pipe composed of four figures. At the right is a whale whose tail joins the head of a human figure. A cross-hatched cylinder connects the whale's body and the buttocks of the human. The latter grasps the beak of a raven. The human's hands and tongue are held by the raven's beak. Behind the raven, facing in the opposite direction, is the head of another bird that has a fragmentary beak. Below the latter bird's wings is a humanoid head that is probably an elaboration of the bird's tail. Presumably the claws to the right of this head-like tail belong to this last bird figure.

Figure 31
Cat. No. 15696 R
L. 28.6cm W. 2.4cm H. 9.3cm

Haida panel pipe. The large figure at the right is an insect, perhaps a dragonfly, with a large circular eye containing a humanoid face. Forelimbs, two pairs of wings, and a segmented body terminating in two u-shaped extremities, possibly exaggerated "claspers" used by male dragonflies in mating, complete this figure. The dragonfly's mouth holds a small creature with two pairs of wings, perhaps another insect. On top of the large insect's head is a supine human. Cradled by the dragonfly's curving body is a bird with claws, a feathered body, wings and an open mouth which forms the pipe bowl. Below the dragonfly's body, to the left of its rear wings, is a small human figure facing down. Its buttocks and feet are directly below a double-winged insect with a curling proboscis and an eye form that has an eyelid line. A large human figure with four-fingered hands, knees touching elbows and a small bear-like figure on its head forms the lower left portion of the pipe. Above this human's head is a smaller humanoid head with a curious, thin, segmented body that doubles back on itself. The distal end of its body terminates in two u-shaped lobes.

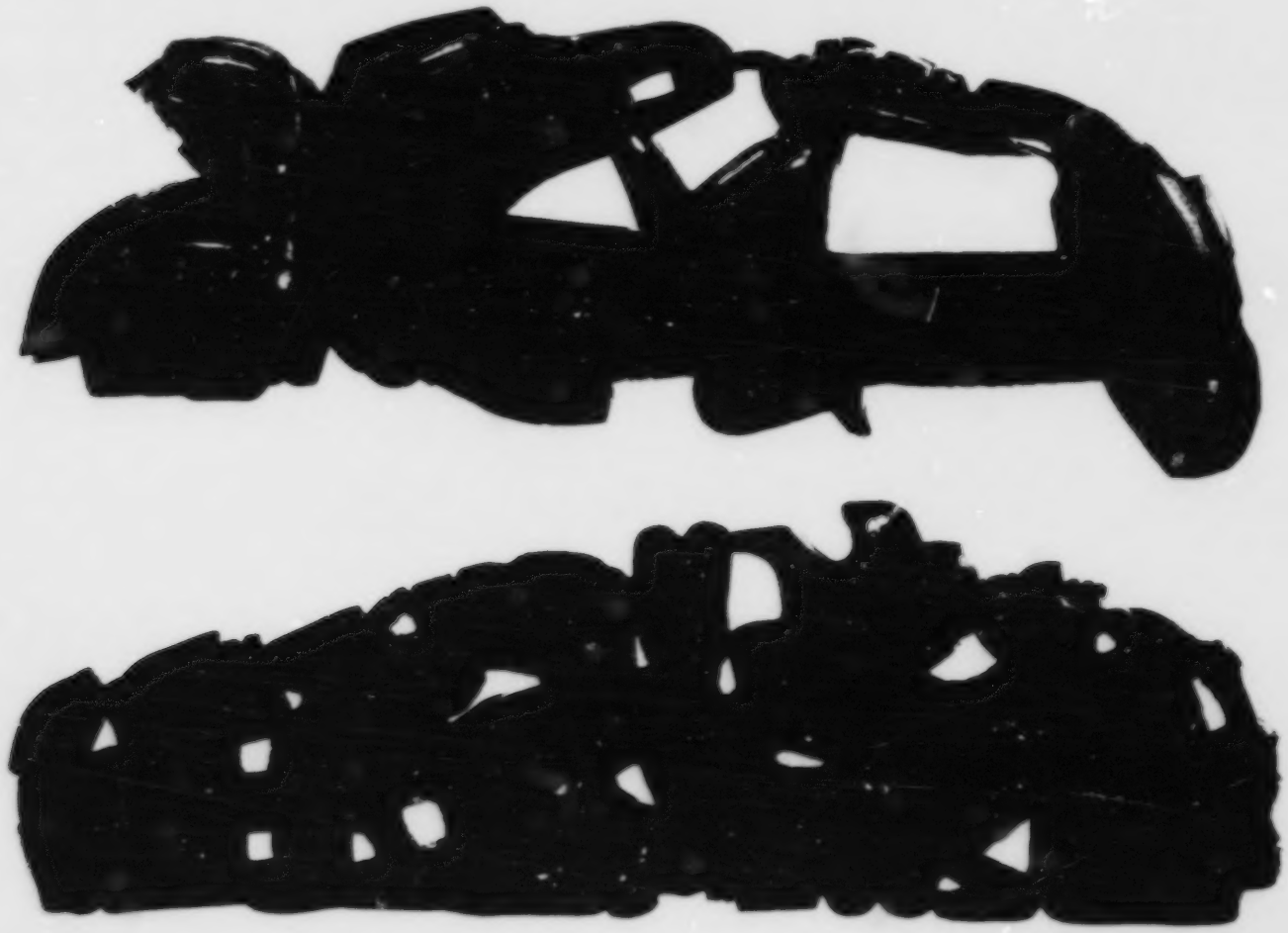


Figure 32
Cat. No. 15698 R
L. 25.7cm W. 2.2cm H. 5.8cm

Haida panel pipe composed of complete figures and heads without bodies. The animal figure at the right holds a frog with a ribbed body in its mouth. The frog's head rests on a disembodied animal head. Below this head are the pectoral fins which attach to the whale's head to the left. Above the whale's head is another disembodied, eared head, the extended tongue of which arches over to the ears of an animal head with forearms but no discernable body. Facing the latter with its mouth open and turned upward to form the pipe bowl is an animal with four-fingered hands and clawed rear limbs. The last figure is a humanoid with legs drawn up to its chin, hands grasping its thighs, and with a head above its knees. The tongue of this head joins the mouth of the recumbent figure and its hands grasp the latter's cheeks.

Figure 33
Cat. No. 15697 R
L. 35.5cm W. 1.9cm H. 9.2cm

Haida panel pipe composed of seven animal figures. The figure at the left is interpreted as a frog with extended tongue and a ringed cylinder rising from the back of its head. The second figure is a bear. Arching up from behind the bear's ears is a fish whose head meets a segmented column which extends down and back to the left edge of the artifact. To the immediate right of the column is a bird. The next figure is a personified raven. This bird is followed by another bear-like animal which has an upside-down fish extending from its knees to its forepaws.

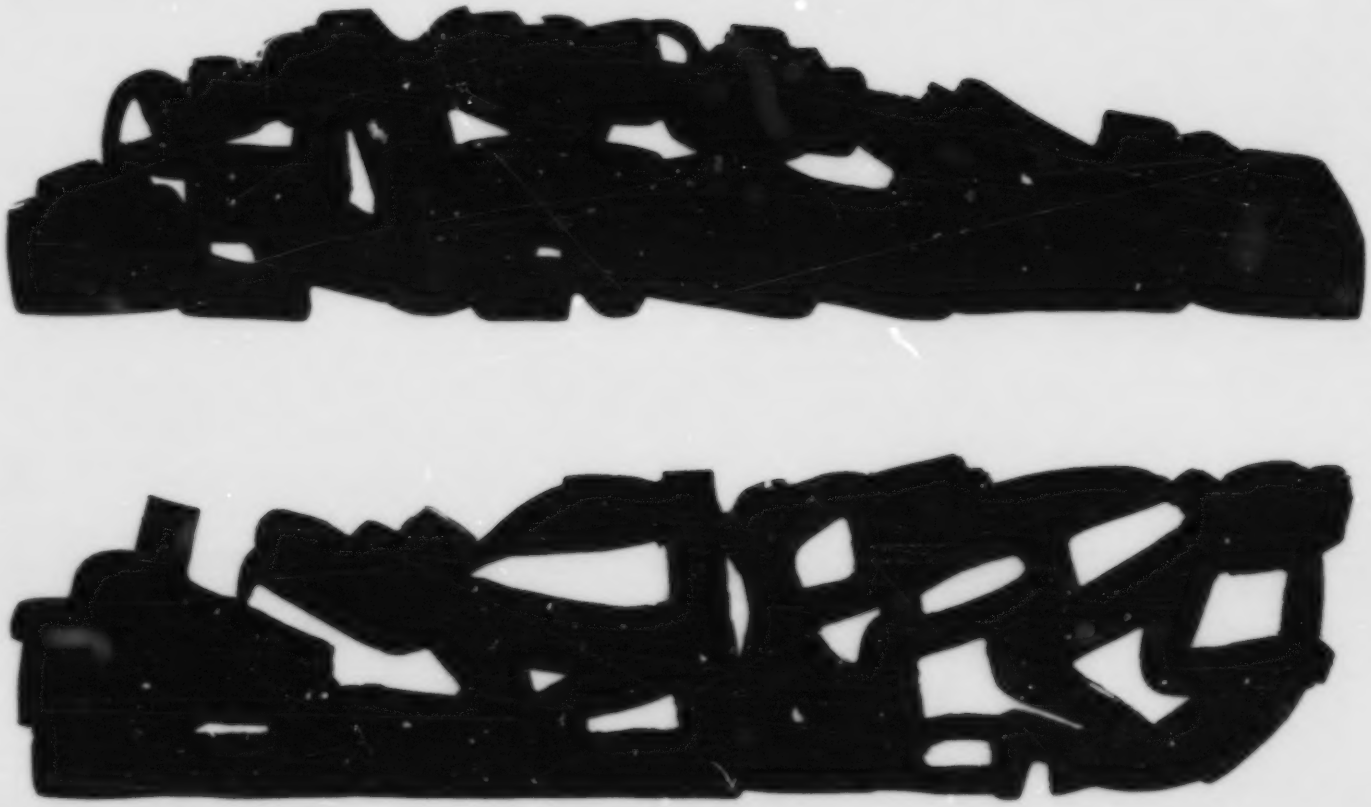


Figure 34
Cat. No. 15689 R
L. 20cm W. 2.2cm H. 5.5cm

Haida panel pipe fragment composed of two major figures, a whale and a raven. The nostril of the whale, seen at the right, is elaborated as a profile face; the mouth contains a wing design. Behind the whale's head is its pectoral fin followed by the raven's wing. Below the trailing edge of the wing is a human head with a fragmented lower torso of another figure on top of it. The hands of the large head are below the head of a smaller humanoid which reclines below the raven's beak.

Figure 35
Cat. No. 16156
L. 20.7cm W. 3.3cm H. 6.9cm

Haida panel pipe. The figure at left is a supine bird with an angular bent beak. Placed between its wings is an earless, bear-like creature with an open mouth. Its arms are pulled back, elbows behind its body. Its foreclaws can be seen below the lower edge of the bird's wings. The third figure is an eared, bear-like creature, again with an open mouth. Its forepaws exhibit three rather than two claws as did the previous figure. Its body is embellished with dashing that suggests fur. The toothless quadruped at upper right is probably a frog. Below it is the head and forelimbs of an unidentified creature which has humanoid lips, a short, sharp, down-turned beak or nose and a projecting, over-hanging, forehead which has a curved lower edge.

Figure 36
Cat. No. 15100
L. 31.4cm W. 1.9cm H. 10.6cm

Haida panel pipe composed of four birds and a whale; the whale is at the left. Its body arches over its tail, which is held by an eared bird. This bird's wings, claws and tail are seen below its head. A second bird's head, which has no ears, is to the right of the first. Its elongated wing extends down to the lower edge of the artifact and back under its head toward the right margin of the pipe. The third bird is directly to the right of the second. Below its eared head is a claw design followed by a wing. Above the thin end of the wing is the tail elaborated as a bird's head. The fourth bird is below the extended wing of the second. Its toothed head is joined to an oversize claw which has two feather motifs at its upper edge. The pierced form to the right may represent the wing, and the eye and three terminal feather motifs, the tail.

Figure 37
Cat. No. 15701 R
L. 15.8cm W. 2.1cm H. 5.8cm

Haida panel pipe. The figure at the right is a bird whose beak is missing. Below its wings is a humanoid face. To the left of this disembodied head is a frog in a supine position. Above the frog's body is a bear with clawed forepaws. It faces a seated human whose head is thrown back. Below the human is a large human-like head facing downward. It has bent arms but no body or legs. The figure at the left end of the pipe is probably a raven. There is a small animal beneath the raven's chin, with straight arms extending down, parallel to the bird's wings.

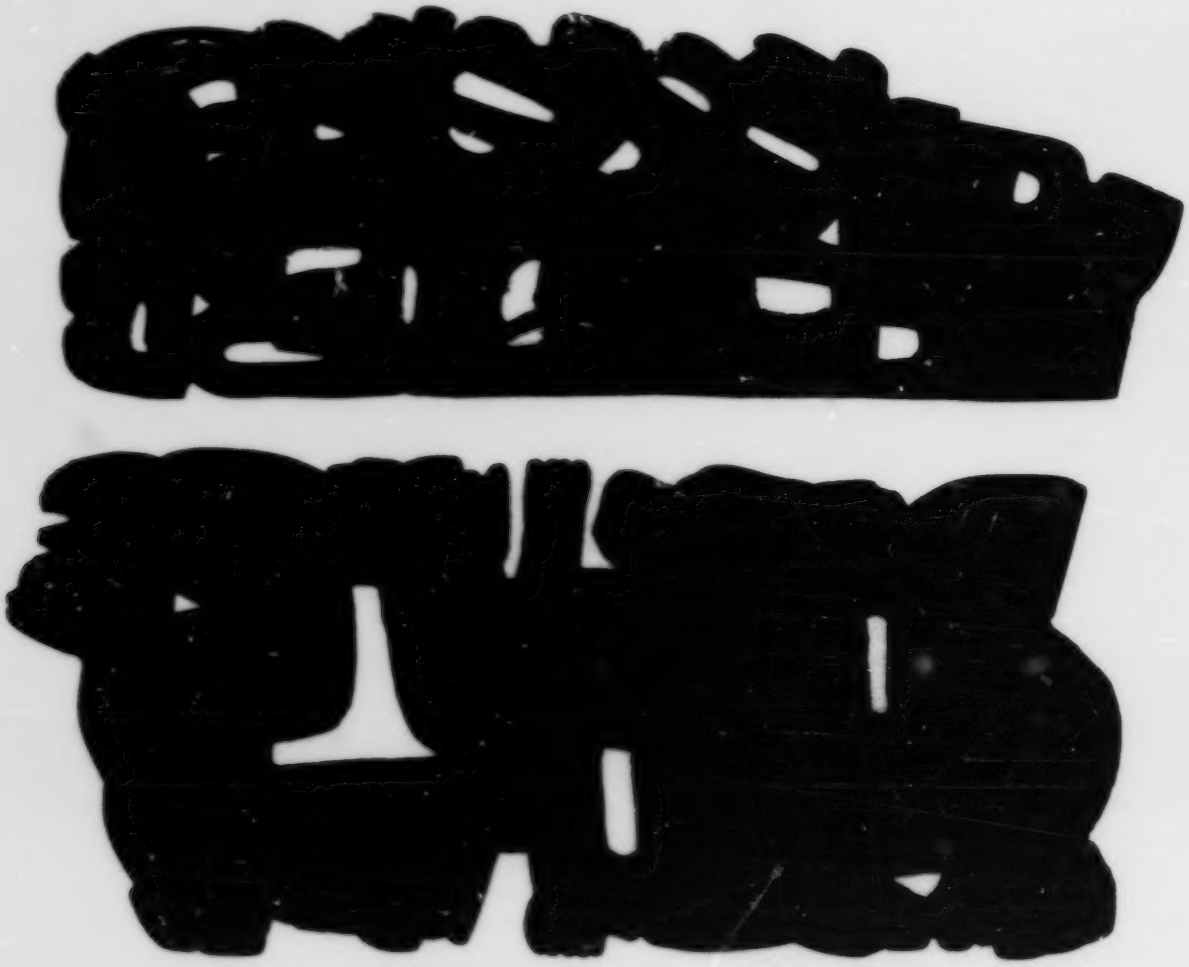


Figure 38
Cat. No. 1586
L. 6.4cm W. 1.5cm H. 5.7cm

Haida panel pipe fragment consisting of an animal head with a small, headless, quadrapedal figure in its open mouth. The surface has traces of red pigment in recessed areas. It was collected in 1913 by C. F. Newcombe at the Nass River village of Greenville. Newcombe said the artifact was used as a charm.

8
Ship Pipes

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Figure 39
Cat. No. 15684 R
L. 36.5cm W. 1.7cm H. 9.9cm

Ship panel pipe showing three humans, a large dog and a central cabin with two windows. The human at left wears a long coat and grasps an unturned, fiddle-head-like scroll that is the termination of the baseline, presumably a billet head motif. The second human which holds the first by the waist sits on two barrel-like objects. The roof of the central cabin is covered with parallel grooves. Two semi-circular motifs with radiating spokes embellish the lower edge of the cabin. A scroll-and-leaf motif separates the third human and the dog.

Many authors have claimed that the earliest known argillite pipe is one in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (Wright 1979: Fig. 3). Supposedly brought to that city about 1820 and apparently entered into the Museum collection in 1824, this piece has been promoted as the earliest documented argillite carving. Careful research has shown these dates to be incorrect (see Appendix) yet it remains a prototypic example of the ship pipe. This intriguing and simple pipe depicts a ship's bow-piece, known as a billet head, as its main feature. Reminiscent of a fiddlehead, the scrolled billet head was a common feature on the sailing ships that frequented the north Pacific coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Certain vessels incorporated a carved figurehead as well, and both figure significantly in the pipes discussed here. A pipe, remarkably similar to the Berlin example, was accessioned into the Peabody Salem Museum in 1830 (cat. no. 3498). It illustrates not only the billet head but the entire planked hull of the vessel, including keel, keelson, bulwarks and what appears to be a hatch or cabin. On both the Berlin and Peabody Salem examples the bowl is represented by a freestanding upright cylinder.

The Euro-American sailing vessel was an obvious source of inspiration to the Haida carver. These two early pipes are small and compact and are isolated examples, because well-documented pieces featuring the ship's image do not appear again until about 1840. At that date *ship panel pipes* are introduced which present a new and often amusing subject for the Haida artist's repertoire.

That the ship pipe is inspired by a hull is clearly seen in an important specimen in the Vancouver Museum (cat. no. AA 41). Obvious in this carving are the vessel's billet head, keel, square gun ports, and stern cabin. The majority of ship pipes, however are more abstract. They usually incorporate a billet head (Fig. 39), less often a figurehead (Fig. 41), may include parts of the ship's gear and rigging and often depict Euro-Americans engaged in a variety of nautical activities. Others, while retaining the ship's bow and stylized keel, portray such land-based activities as horseback riding (Fig. 42), dog walking, sawing wood (Fig. 44), and structures like log cabins, picket fences, and blockhouses. Without question the Haida were greatly intrigued by the white man and sought to record his eccentric activities in art-for-sale.

In carvings of this category, we find the frequent introduction of floral motifs. These are in the form of lanceolate leaves and berries (Figs. 40, 45, 46). While floral scrolls decorated the ship's billet head and trailboard extending beyond it (Fig. 40), there may be an explanation for these designs that is closer to the Haida world than the alien source might suggest. Turner and Taylor (1972), speculating on the origin of Haida tobacco, reproduced Captain Klue's drawings of this plant made from memory. The similarity between Klue's drawing (Fig. 48), and the leaves and berries rendered on ship pipes suggests a connection between the two. As Raven brought one sample of the narcotic plant to the Haida, so the white man brought another, we suggest that the tobacco plant is intended in many of these renderings.

On a complete ship panel pipe, the bowl is contained within a central section which is usually distinctively set apart from the outer parts (Figs. 40, 46). This may assume the form of a cabin, with the chimney serving as the pipe bowl (Fig. 45) or it may be in the form of a square, the upper edges of which are rounded and which is decorated overall with floral motifs and window panes (Fig. 40). Robin Wright has pointed out that the latter represents the stern of an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century sailing vessel as seen from end view.

By the time ship pipes were made, the Haida would have been familiar with Euro-American architecture, having by then seen houses, cabins, blockhouses and buildings associated with the forts established to encourage the land-based fur trade. Such forts were Fort Langley on the Fraser River, established in 1827, Fort Nass in 1831 (later Fort Simpson, 1834), Fort McLoughlin in 1833, Fort Durham in 1840 and Fort Victoria in 1843, all of which were visited by the Haida. There were earlier forts on the north Pacific coast (Astoria, 1811) but it is doubtful the Haida had contact, either directly or otherwise, with the land-based fur traders moving up from the south until 1825 when the Hudson's Bay Company's ship *William and Ann* surveyed the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Ship pipes may have either a predominantly nautical or land-based theme but all are categorized as ship pipes because the majority retain some variation on the ship's bow element and a flat, stylized hull or keel as a base. On the land-based type we find renderings of what can only be horses, so indicated because men are sometimes shown riding them (Fig. 42). Many of these animals appear to be somewhat dog-like, as in figure 42, but others are specifically horses. Some Haida carvers undoubtedly saw live horses because these animals are known to have been in the Fraser River - Puget Sound area by 1840, while others must have relied upon verbal descriptions or illustrations for inspiration.

A number of wooden ship pipes (Fig. 50) have ended up in museum collections. These are usually enhanced by the

addition of paint, glass, bone, metal and baleen inlay and even bits of printed paper. Many feature riders on horses and even carriages pulled by horses. Careful examination of the carving style on these suggests they were created by three artists. Several such pipes were collected at Fort Vancouver by the Wilkes Expedition in 1841. These pipes are now in the U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, and all appear to be carved from a wood not native to the north Pacific coast. If these woods are mahogany or sandalwood, there is a possibility they were carved by a Haida employed on a Euro-American vessel who, while on a lengthy sea voyage, had no access to argillite.

As mentioned earlier, sailing vessels often incorporated a carved figurehead on the prow in addition to a billet head. Some figureheads represented angels and these may be found on a number of pipes (Fig. 41). The Haida must have been greatly impressed by figureheads for two reasons. First, the decoration appeared on the bow of the ship and the comparable part of the Haida canoe was often embellished with flat design or sculpture. Second, the concept of a flying man is not at all alien to the Haida. Their culture hero, Raven, could transform at will into human form and back, so the Haida must have felt a great affinity with this white man's "crest". The wings, feathered waistcoat, the avian tail and the claws placed atop the man's shins all anticipate, in an almost uncanny way, a carving by Haida artist Charles Edensaw dating from a later period (Fig. 126).

Other images from the white man's world appear in argillite carvings. Bill Holm (n.d.) pointed out that the coiled serpent on an argillite ship pipe in the British Museum (Barbeau 1953:247) was derived from the brass side plate found on many early trade muskets (Fig. 51). Another is found in the University Museum, Cambridge (CA 49.208) and another fine example is seen on the Reif ship pipe in figure 43. In this, as in the above examples, the serpent's body coils twice, rather than once as on the decorative musket plate.

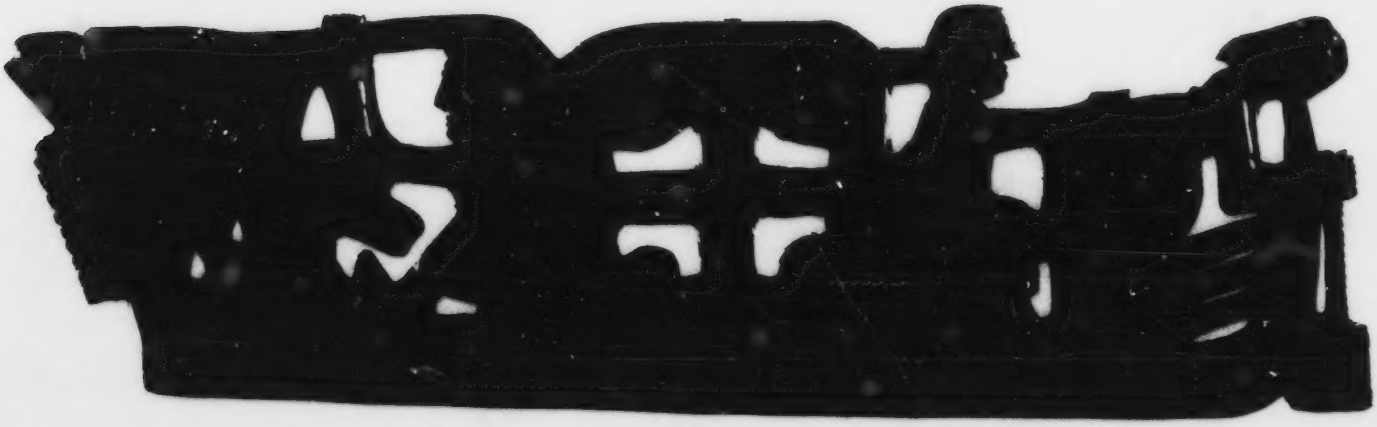


Figure 40
Cat. No. 16155
L. 34.3cm W. 2.1cm H. 10.1cm

Ship panel pipe with a baseline embellished with leaf motifs and a cluster of berries at the point where it curves up like a ship's prow. The centre of the pipe has a stylized ship's stern or belfry with a cross within a frame of curves, leaves and scrolls. To the left is a man holding the bent stem of a plant topped with leaves, a flower, and a cluster of berries. Below, facing the man, is a dog. To the right of the central motif is a seated man holding the left foot, and touching the back, of a third human who is bent at the waist and holds a pail with a rope handle.

Figure 41
Cat. No. 15470
L. 23.9cm W. 1.5cm H. 6.8cm

Ship panel pipe showing four Euro-American males. The two at the left face each other and are struggling for possession of a large knife. The figure at the extreme right has wings, a tail, a feathered chest and talons on his lower limbs. The fourth human grasps one of the latter's wings while his left hand holds a pistol. The two sets of figures are separated by a vertical pipe bowl which is decorated with floral motifs. Between the bowl and the figure to the right are two leaf motifs.

Figure 43
Cat. No. 15713 R
L. 33.5cm W. 2.1cm H. 9.7cm

Ship panel pipe with a baseline formed by a dragon or serpent's body. The human at the left touches the dragon's head with his right hand and a dog with his left hand. Between the two coils of the serpent's body is an abstracted belfry motif. A human protrudes from the right wall of the central cabin and grasps the top of a plant motif. A third Euro-American male figure sits, knees flexed, hands on top of a fragment of a cylinder which is on top of the floral motif. His back is against a grid-like figure with eight rectangular holes and a gable-like shape at its top.

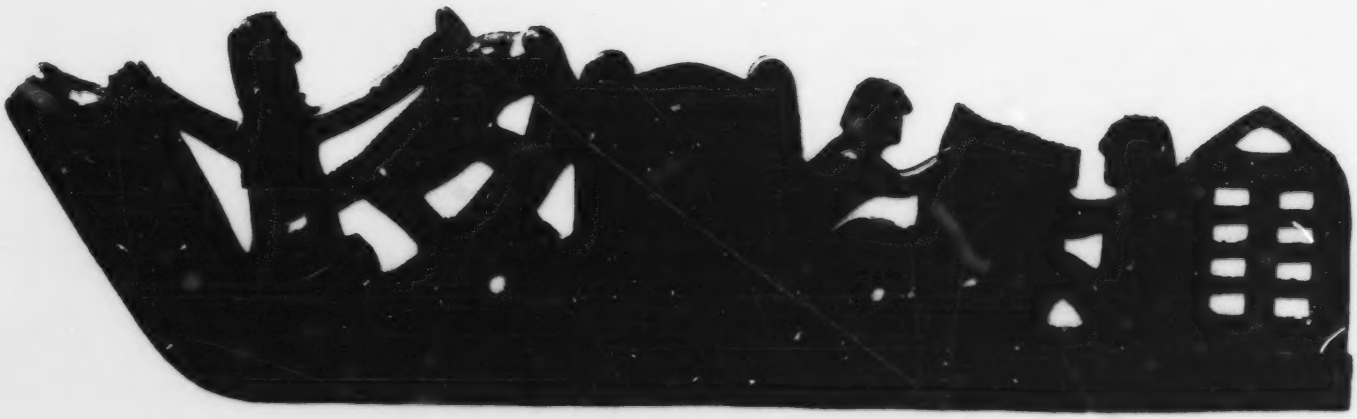


Figure 42
Cat. No. 15691 R
L. 14.5cm W. 1.9cm H. 10.5cm

Ship panel pipe fragment composed of three human figures on top of a dog-like creature which has some plant leaves in its mouth. The seated man at left has a vertical column at his back, which is the pipe bowl, and a cylindrical tree- or mushroom-like column between himself and the middle figure which sits astride the animal, perhaps intended as a horse. Between the second human and the column is a half rosette on the animal's back. The third human sits, knees drawn-up, on the animal's tail, his hands grasping a rope-like neckring on the middle human. The animal stands on a simple baseline.

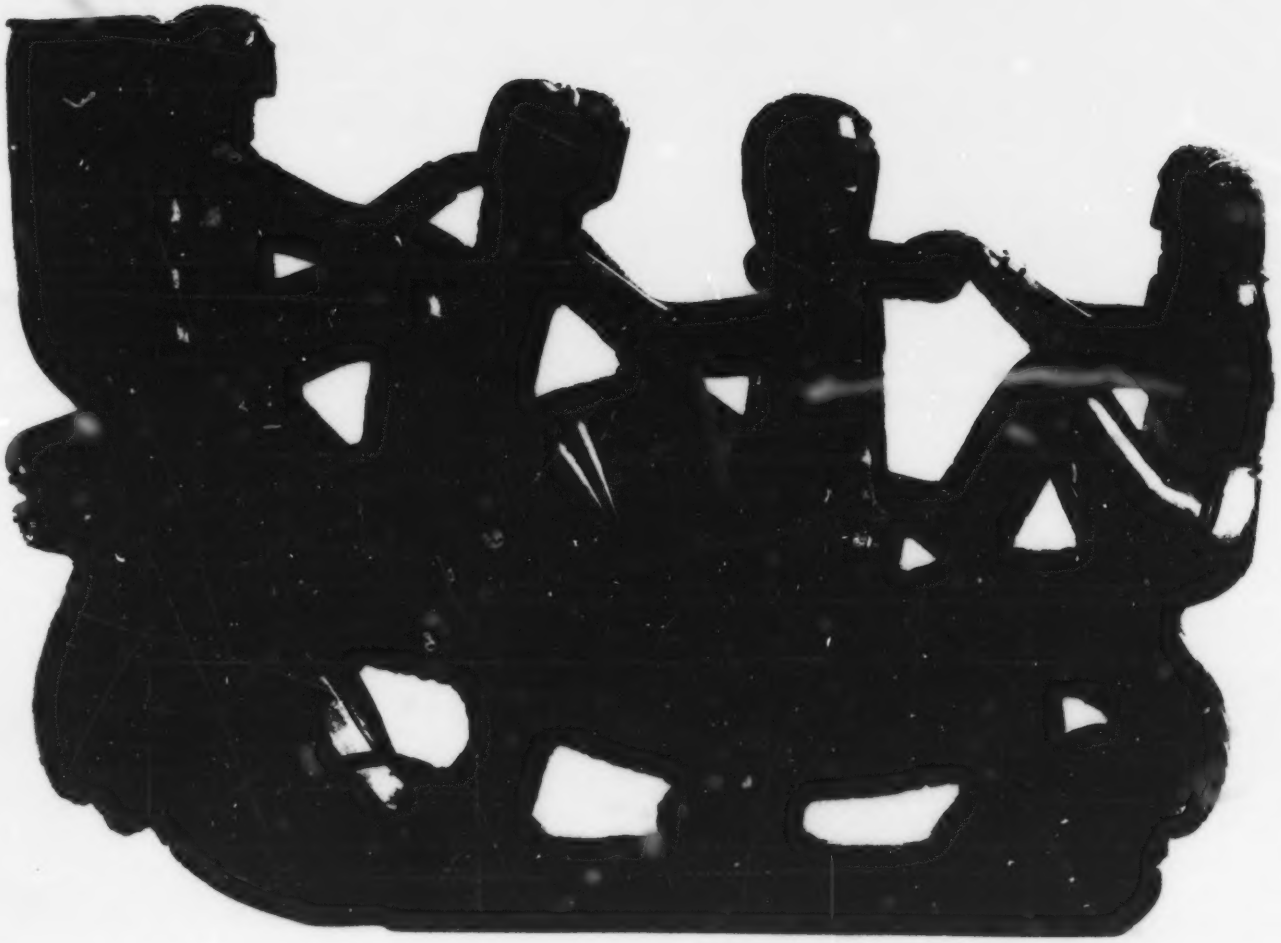


Figure 44
Cat. No. 15679 R
L. 34.7cm W. 2.2cm H. 12cm

Ship panel pipe depicting four Euro-American males. The figure at the far left is using a large saw, beneath his shoulders is a tobacco berry-and-scroll motif and his head rests on the cylindrical pipe bowl. The next figure lies on top a rectangular, grid-like structure that is faced with ivory on the side illustrated. The next figure stands upright and holds a three-feathered fan motif. The last figure stands upright with his hands on his waist.

Figure 45
Cat. No. 15788
L. 31.6cm W. 1.7cm H. 9.2cm

Ship panel pipe with a baseline and billet head motif at left. The clapboarded cabin with central chimney is flanked by scroll, leaf-and-berry motifs on the left and three rectangular box shapes on the right. Scroll, leaf-and-berry motifs are repeated at the right end of the pipe. The underside is inscribed *Captain P.H. Moore Victoria Vancouver Island July 17, 1861.*

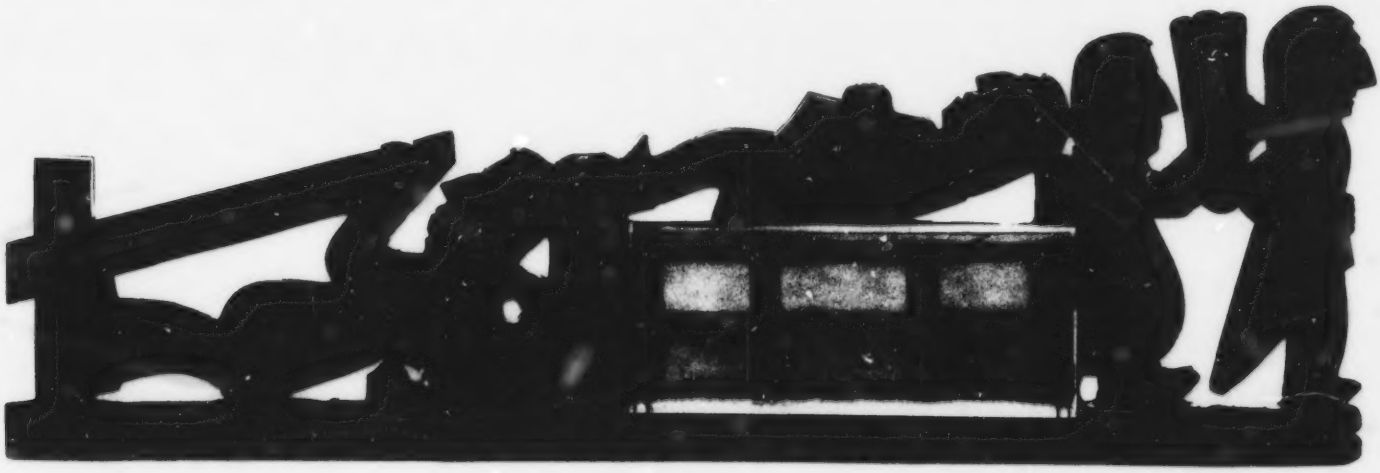


Figure 46
Cat. No. 14951
L. 33.6cm W. 1.7cm H. 5.9cm

Ship panel pipe. The figures from left are: bird with tobacco-plant motif in its beak; Euro-American male; a cabin-like structure; a male figure, with a stylized Haida face and curling tail protruding from his stomach, holding a plant-like cylindrical object; another tobacco-plant motif and a dog.

Figure 47
Cat. No. 269
L. 6.8cm W. 1.6cm H. 8.6cm

Ship panel pipe fragment showing a human figure in frock coat and high boots standing with hands on a stylized ship's prow. Received by the Museum in 1898. Collected at the Gitksan village of Kuggegus.

Figure 48

Captain Klue's 1897 drawing of the native tobacco plant that was cultivated by the Haida. (Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.)

Figure 49
Cat. No. 15685 R
L. 32.5cm W. 11.7cm H. 10.5cm

Ship panel pipe depicting four Euro-American males and a central cabin. The figure at the far left is reclining on an angled shaft with his hands on a curved shaft that may relate to a ship's prow. The second figure sits on the prow motif. The cabin has a pitched roof, the gable of which is shingled, and two window sashes. The right sash is divided into four triangular apertures. The rectangular extension on the left side of the roof contains the pipe bowl. A human torso extends from the right wall of the cabin over a trunk. The last figure leans on an angled projection.

Figure 50
Cat. No. 17019
L. 16.8cm W. 3.1cm H. 7.3cm

Wooden ship panel pipe. At the left is a scrolled billet head that descends vertically forming a bow line and diagonally forming a trail board. The latter two ship motifs are embellished with floral, leaf designs, the trail board terminating in a circular ivory inlay with internal radii representing a flower at the end of a leafy stem. Sitting atop the trail board, in the manner of a ship's figure-head, is a carved ivory man with Euro-American hair styling and shirt collar. To the right of the metal-lined and capped pipe bowl is an upright flower with an ivory finial, a peaked-roof cabin and a pendant-flower motif. Inlaid ivory panels embellish each side of the long, horizontal pipe stem. The baseline of the pipe is composed of three wooden circles inlaid with compass-rose motifs and two ivory-inlaid, wooden u-shapes with pierced slots along their upper edges. The wood has been microscopically analyzed and its structure is very close to the native cherry, *Prunus emarginata*.

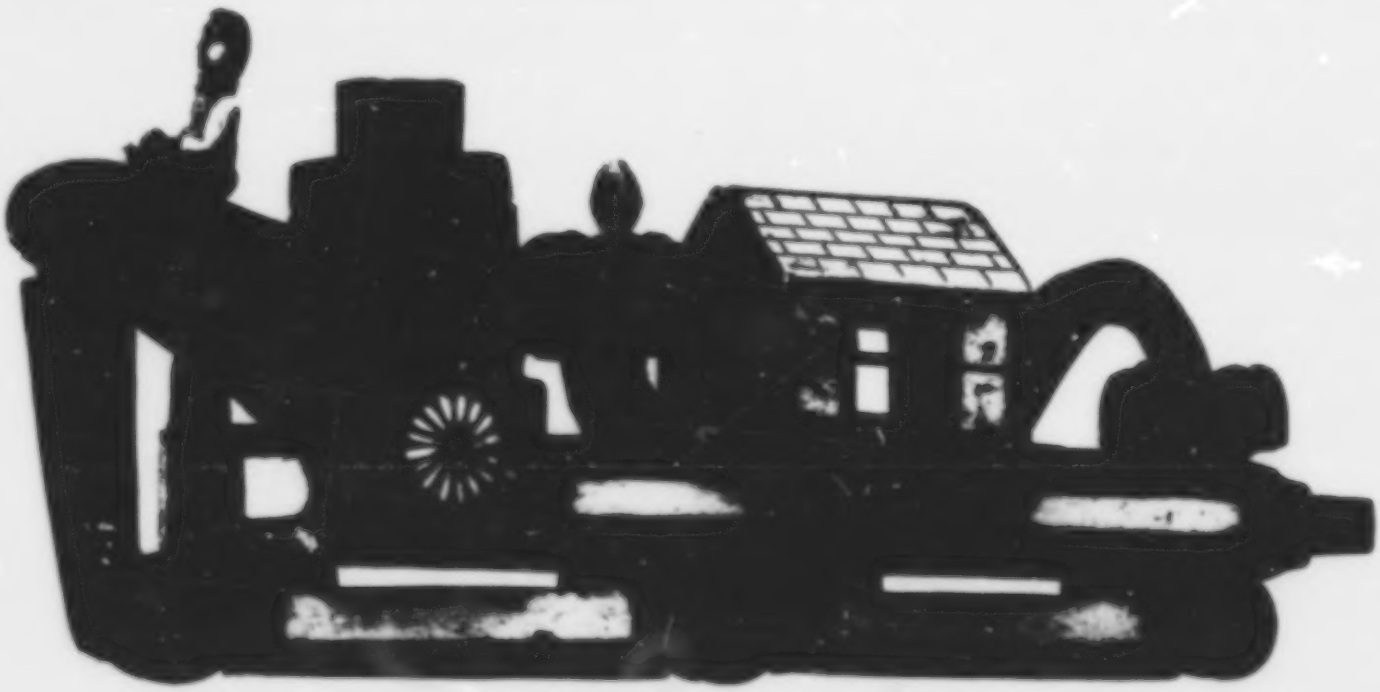


Figure 51
Cat. No. 972.106a
L. 13.7cm (side plate only)

Cast, brass, side plate depicting a dragon or sea serpent on a percussion musket made by Parker, Field & Son, London, and dated 1874. A stamped "viewer's mark" of the type known as a "tombstone plaque" (not illustrated) on the lock plate identifies the musket as a Hudson's Bay Company trade gun (Hanson 1955:37).

Figure 53
Cat. No. 14865
L. 8cm W. 2.2cm H. 9.7cm

Ship panel pipe fragment showing a stylized, ship's stern motif with rows of windows, a central column of angled u-shapes and a cylindrical, projecting pipe bowl.

Figure 52
Cat. No. 15459
L. 20.7cm W. 2.5cm H. 10.6cm

Ship panel pipe fragment. Figures, from the left, are: cabin structure with two windows and two half rosettes; two Euro-American males, the first with his hands on a large scroll motif, the second sitting on a trunk-like object holding a wheel motif which sits atop a vertical, cylindrical column.

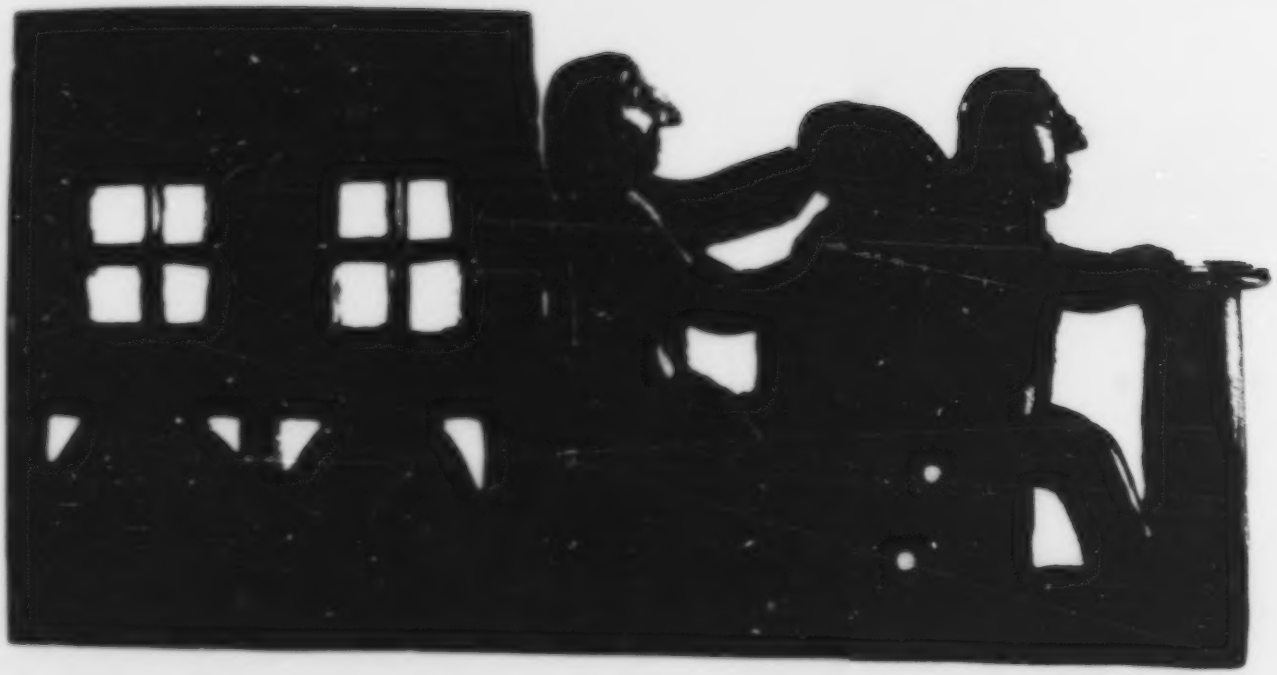


Figure 54
Cat. No. 15683 R
L. 33.7cm W. 1.9cm H. 9cm

Ship panel pipe illustrating traditional Haida figures including: two ravens; two animals, one at each end of the pipe and a third between the two birds; two human heads, one on the right upper edge of the pipe and one in the lower edge. The lower right base is elaborated with floral motifs. A scrolled, billet head is located at the left end of the pipe.

Figure 55
Cat. No. 15170
L. 19.4cm W. 2.1cm H. 6.4cm

Ship panel pipe carved from red stone. The figures from the left are: animal enclosed within a rope motif that forms the baseline; a complex of motifs that include u-forms and a scroll or fiddlehead; a seated human figure; and another animal figure. The rope motif extends over the back of the latter.

Figure 56
Cat. No. 15688 R
L. 17.6cm W. 1.7cm H. 11.5cm

Ship panel pipe fragment depicting a woman on the back of an insect, probably a grasshopper or cricket. The baseline is formed by a ship's prow, billet-head motif. The grooved insect's body recurves up to touch the woman's hair which is elaborated with a decorative comb. A fragmentary torso grasps the insect's body. The woman's back rests against the insect's large jumping leg.

Figure 57
Cat. No. 15661 R
L. 15.4cm W. 2.4cm H. 10cm

Ship panel pipe fragment showing a small human figure wearing a long cape standing beneath the head of a large dog with a rope-like collar. Below the dog, lying on its back, is another human figure whose upstretched hands grasp the animal's hindquarters.

Figure 58
Cat. No. 14876
L. 21cm W. 1.7cm H. 7.3cm

Ship panel pipe fragment. The figure at the left is a whale with a human in its mouth. The whale's body is bent double so that its tail touches the human's head. Next to the whale is a bear which carries the pipe bowl on its back. The bowl is embellished with a floral rosette that has a drilled centre with eight cross-hatched petals. A rope motif extends from the whale's pectoral fin to the fragmented stem end of the pipe.

9
Animal Form Bowls

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Figure 59
Cat. No. 15735 R
L. 26.9cm W. 13.6cm H. 7.5cm

Animal form bowl carved in the shape of a seal with the head at one end and the tail at the other. Two-dimensional design elements cover its outer surface. The inside of the bowl has a transversely segmented groove around the lip of the rim. A line of stippling runs parallel to the lower edge of the groove.

Of all the categories of argillite carving, animal form bowls have persisted over the longest time. The earliest examples can be considered to be life-sized copies of delicate wooden bowls used, in most cases, to contain eulachon oil which served as a staple condiment in the Haida diet. This highly prized oil was acquired from mainland neighbours, notably the Tsimshian on the Nass River where the oily anadromous smelt spawns every spring. Through a cooking process fats are released from the fishes' bodies, rendered and then stored for future use.

During formal feasts or simple meals, barbecued salmon was dipped into a container of eulachon oil before being consumed. These containers could be small, modest boxes with minimal graphic decoration or they could be intricate animal form bowls carved to represent a variety of creatures. They were owned individually and taken to feasts by guests and retained throughout for personal use.

The earliest example of this type of argillite carving known to the authors is a rectangular bowl in the collection of the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Donated by Dr. Scouler in 1872, we firmly believe this was a piece collected by William Fraser Tolmie and sent to Scouler in 1839 (see Appendix). Another contemporaneous example is a bowl in the form of a frog acquired at Fort Vancouver by the Wilkes Expedition in 1841 and now in the U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution (cat. no. 2567). An example that clearly falls into this category is seen in figure 59 which represents a seal and which is in every detail a counterpart of extant wooden oil bowls. Another specimen is illustrated in figure 60. While not hollowed out as deeply as the example in figure 59 (and thus indicating a conscious move away from function on the part of the artist), it is conceptually derived from the wooden prototype.

Animal form bowls enjoyed a vogue into the twentieth century. The Skidegate and Masset carvers who spearheaded the great revival in the 1880s continued to produce examples in argillite that mimicked the wooden oil dishes in form and subject. At the same time, certain changes took place. A few bowls from this period are tiny, whimsical pieces easily cupped in one hand. The frog bowl created by Charles Edensaw (Fig. 61) is an example. Certain artists replicated free form bowls that incorporated only two-dimensional designs (Fig. 62). Others, such as that in figure 63, are similar in form but incorporate some relief carving. The shape and the bone inlays around the rims (which signify opercula as used in wooden examples) clearly demonstrates these latter two were derived from traditional oil dishes.

Because the artists of the late revival were so interested in narrative sculpture, it is not surprising to find examples such as figure 64 which features three humans carved in relief within the hollow of the bowl. Such a rendering is of course atypical of the real feast bowl and any such decoration would interfere with the function of the utensil. As in certain other examples from this period, the actual hollowed area is so shallow that in no way can it be considered utilitarian. The creation of an art-for-sale is fully confirmed by such creations.

While rare, serving trays of argillite are also found and are included in this category. The uniquely rendered shark depicted in figure 65 is such an example. Long and flat, its function is clearly indicated and, as in the case of bowls, this is derived from an earlier wooden form.

As emphasized above, argillite bowls span a considerable period and are in fact the only form to have been continuously produced by the Haida artists in the slate medium. When all factors of sculptural and two-dimensional detail are considered, one can usually distinguish between pieces produced after about 1880 and those made before. Of the examples illustrated, all were produced after 1880 with the possible exception of figure 59. This is attributed as the earliest piece for several reasons. A bowl in the form of a seal is very ancient in Northwest Coast art (see Duff 1981, Fig. 14) and the form of this argillite example has known wooden counterparts that date to the first half of the nineteenth century. As well, the handling of eyesocket, eyelid line and lips are entirely conventional (compare these with similar anatomical elements in figure 63). And finally, the formline weight, relative simplicity of u-forms and ovoids, and the unadorned tertiary areas, are seen to differ from the way in which these two-dimensional designs are handled in the later, more elaborate example in figure 62.

Figure 61
Cat. No. 9910
L. 6.7cm W. 5.5cm H. 3.7cm

Animal form bowl in the shape of a frog. The outer surface is embellished with two-dimensional design elements. Purchased by C. F. Newcombe in 1912 at Masset. Newcombe records that the piece was made by Charles Edensaw.

Figure 60
Cat. No. 10518
L. 24.3cm W. 13.2cm H. 3.9cm

Animal form bowl in the shape of a quadruped with a toothed mouth and long curving claws. Sweeping back from the apex of the eyebrows between the animal's ears is a segmented rectangle that is a symbol of chiefly status. It represents the cylindrical, carved wooden, or basketry, rings on the top of conical dance hats. This artifact is made from the so-called red 'argillite'.

Figure 62
Cat. No. 15732 R
L. 23cm W. 17.9cm H. 7.4cm

Carved oval bowl with raised ends. The undulating rim is decorated with inlaid ovals of ivory. Fine, two-dimensional designs, the inner ovoids of which are inlaid with abalone shell, cover the outer surface of the bowl. There is a raised, inner ridge parallel to the lip of the bowl. The ridge also has vertical extensions to the four corners of the bowl's lip. This raised ridge delineates a shallow groove that is parallel to the lip of the bowl.

Figure 63
Cat. No. 15802
L. 23.1cm W. 18.2cm H. 6.8cm

Carved oval bowl. The ends, carved in relief, illustrate an eared animal with clawed front and hind legs. The sides of the bowl are covered with two-dimensional designs. The undulating rim is embellished with oval, ivory inlays, many of which are missing. The inside of the bowl is plain except for a shallow groove parallel to the inner lip of the rim.

Figure 64
Cat. No. 15705 R
L. 31.5cm W. 18.7cm H. 4.7cm

Animal form bowl in the shape of a bear with four limbs and a hollow back that forms the dish. The bear's head holds a small human in its mouth. Its tail is carved in the shape of a bird with a recurved beak. Inside the hollow back are three human figures and two animal heads carved in high relief. The human nearest the head of the bowl is a shaman.

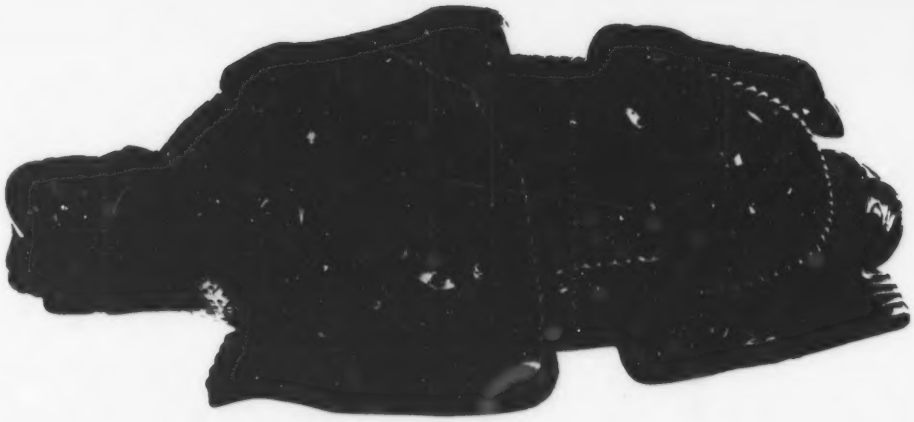


Figure 65
Cat. No. 16153
L. 37.4cm W. 18cm H. 4.2cm

Rectangular tray with trianguloid end flanges (cf. Holm 1974:31) carved to represent two sharks. One half of each face is placed at diagonally opposed corners of the tray. The body elements are placed along the thin edges of the tray with each heterocercal tail at the other diagonally opposite corners. There is a rope-motif border to the central hollow of the bowl of the tray.

10 Euro-American Figures

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Figure 66
Cat. No. 6672
L. 10.5cm W. 14.5cm H. 37.5cm

Euro-American figure of a man in formal dress standing on a rectangular base with champhered edges. The figure is shown in full frontal pose with hands on hips and legs slightly apart. Details of tailoring and hair style are all meticulously rendered. He wears a frock coat, striped vest, a scarf and a top hat.

Early in the 1840s, the Haida began to produce vertical figures representing Euro-Americans. The majority of these feature men but women are by no means absent from the carver's repertoire. In rare instances childen may accompany an adult. In some cases the face or even the entire head may be carved of ivory or bone, further emphasizing that a white man is intended. A few examples feature a head carved from a purplish stone which is added to the argillite body. Again this represents an attempt to distinguish or characterize the figure as an alien.

What may be considered a type example is seen in figure 66. Here a Euro-American is obviously depicted, complete with top hat, frock coat, waistcoat , cravat, trousers and shoes. This carving was long in the possession of a Victoria, B.C., family. They say the image represents Sir James Douglas. Douglas was Hudson's Bay Company chief factor at Fort Victoria in 1849, and later governor of the crown colony of Vancouver Island. The figure may well represent Douglas although incontrovertable evidence for this claim does not exist. Certainly it exhibits a fashion Douglas was known to have worn.

Evidence that Western figures date from the early 1840s is based on an example now in the National Museum of Denmark. Acquired in an exchange from the Smithsonian Institution in 1868, it was apparently collected by the Wilkes Expedition and thus would have been obtained in 1841. It assumes the form and pose of the majority of such figures; a thin, elongate body of a white man wearing a greatcoat and standing with arms akimbo. Nearly all males featured in this category have either a distinct military or nautical bearing. Thus, soldiers and ships' officers are depicted in the carvings.

In these figures it is always the detail which attracts and charms the viewer. The faces are of special interest, particularly the coiffure which is shown in meticulous detail. When rendering a European face, the Haida artist created a new form, unlike that of classic traditional sculpture. Careful examination of the face in figure 66 reveals a narrow, elongated face with small eyes, a sharp, pointed nose, tight, pinched mouth and no clearly defined eyesocket. It can only be read as depicting the alien intruder.

The tailored clothing further indicates the subject is a white man. Seams, buttons, buttonholes are all carefully replicated on these delightful figures. While the Haida were obviously careful observers of Euro-American dress and custom, they also acquired items of manufactured clothing in trade which would serve as immediate models. Used clothing, particularly military uniforms, were offered in the days of the sea otter trade. Later the Hudson's Bay Company and, subsequently, government representatives presented village chiefs with uniforms as a mark of office.

While most carvings in this category feature a single individual, in some they appear in pairs. The theme of a man sitting in a chair restraining a child, as seen in figure 67, is repeated in other examples. What incident this is meant to portray we will never know, but it may be based on an event witnessed by a Haida and repeated widely because of its oddity. Do we see a father admonishing his son? A captain rebuking a cabin boy?

Women are also shown in carvings classified in this category (Fig. 68). We can assume the Haida saw Euro-American women in numbers only after the fur trade posts were well established. The wives of certain senior officers of trading companies may have been white women but they were more likely native women. Whatever their origins they would at least sometimes be dressed in Euro-American clothing and that was enough to inspire the Haida artist. In a few examples, the clothing is specific enough to identify national dress. A carving in the Maidstone Museum, Kent, illustrates a women wearing a Welsh bonnet. While we will never know if this figure was modelled from life or from an illustration, it does provide a specific clue to identify the carving.

While charming and varied, vertical Euro-American figures are not abundant in museum collections. The Peabody Harvard collection is considered well represented with some four examples. The five Reif pieces in this category therefore add considerably to this category and are important in that they represent the major sub-types known to fall within this grouping.

Included in the Euro-American figure category are a small number of single figures, representing, for the most part, birds. While no examples well-documented in time are known at this writing, they appear to be contemporaneous with the Western figures. The handling of the two-dimensional elements are entirely apart from tradition; an attempt at realism is seen in renderings of feathers (Fig. 74), a trait that reappears with varying success in later decades. We assume domestic fowl inspired this category of bird figure. Chickens, ducks and geese are known to have been kept aboard early ships as well as having been introduced by traders and settlers.

Perhaps anticipating these single bird figures, are poultry found on ship panel pipes. A clear example of a rooster is seen in the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology collection (cat. no. A6976) in which the

comb, wattles and arched tail feathers are easily distinguishable. Here is clear evidence of domestic fowl illustrated in the art and it leads us to conclude that the single bird figures with realistic or geometric feather designs also indicate introduced species.

Another variation is handled in a much more traditional manner yet it remains different. This example (Fig. 75) shows the wings rendered in classic formline style, with an ovoid shoulder joint, u-form wing and two terminal feathers. But there is one noticeable difference when this is compared with traditional renderings of birds. The eyes do not assume a typical form; they are small, circular, incised and do not feature an eyelid line. The strange, snout-like nose and mouth are most atypical. As a result, we contend that a domestic bird is represented in this type. This is one of only three examples known.

Figure 67
Cat. No. 15642 R
L. 13.1cm W. 4.4cm H. 17.9cm

Euro-American figure group made up of two males, both with ivory heads (both are recent replacements), one standing and one sitting on a stool. The seated figure holds the other's hands. He also has his feet on top of the standing figure's feet. Clothing details are simple and similar, but the standing figure's coat has tails while the other's does not.

Figure 68
Cat. No. 15640 R
L. 10.9cm W. 3cm H. 15.5cm

Euro-American figure group consisting of two women in long dresses. They are identical except for height — one is taller. Both are shown looking straight ahead with their hands touching just below the waist. The clothing and hair details are simple.

Figure 69
Cat. No. 15739 R
L. 7cm W. 6cm H. 20.5cm

A Euro-American figure of a woman with her hair braided into a single long plait. She wears a long dress with leg-of-mutton sleeves as well as a plaid insert at her neck and a fringed apron. The skirt is decorated on each side with a compass-drawn flower.

Figure 70
Cat. No. 15738 R
L. 12.5cm W. 2.5cm H. 19.5cm

A fragment of a Euro-American figure group composed of a woman in a long dress standing on top of a sea creature with prominent pectoral fins, hatched body and a bifurcated tail. The woman holds a rope-like object in her left hand which may have been connected to another figure which, like her right arm, is missing. The fragmentary nature of this piece, the inclusion of a sea creature and the baseline suggest this may have been part of a panel pipe although the overall height argues against this.

Figure 71
Cat. No. 4537
L. 3.6cm W. 2cm H. 8.1cm

An archaic human figure with classic Haida face yet wearing tailored European clothing. It appears to be a woman as indicated by the skirt. The figure was found during road grading near Masset and was acquired in 1931.

Figure 72
Cat. No. 15711 R
L. 6.8cm W. 4.1cm H. 26.5cm

Euro-American figure of a man standing with his hands on his hips. He wears a frock coat, striped shirt, trousers and shoes. His hair has a side part. He is standing with his feet slightly apart and looking straight ahead. The base is a plain champhered rectangle.

Figure 73
Cat. No. 15712 R
L. 8.6cm W. 7cm H. 30.7cm

Euro-American figure of a standing man with his hands in his trouser pockets and his legs apart. He wears a frock coat with striped lining and two rows of five buttons. His legs are fixed to a plain, champhered base. There are no feet shown. The head, with ivory face, is a replacement as is the base.

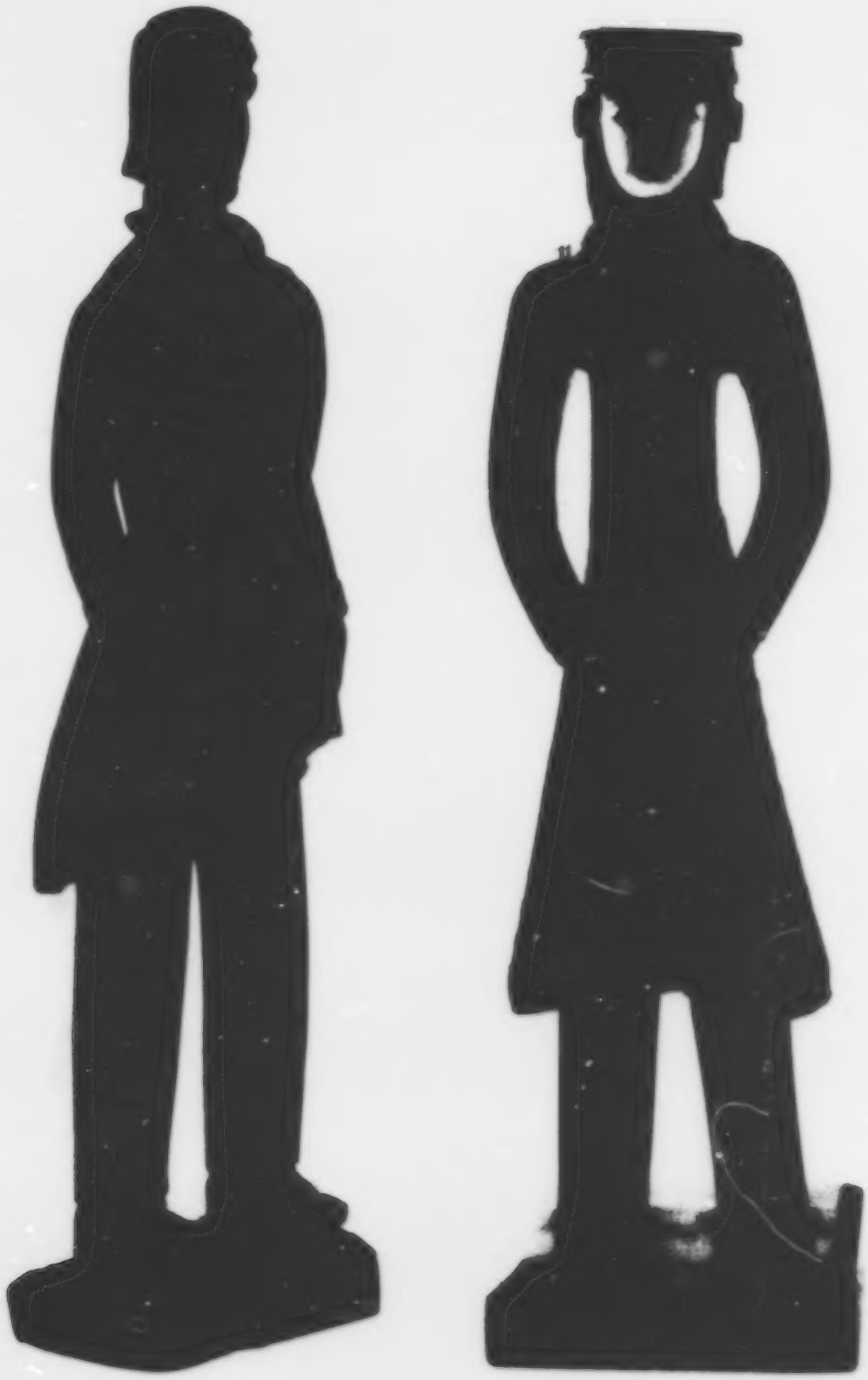
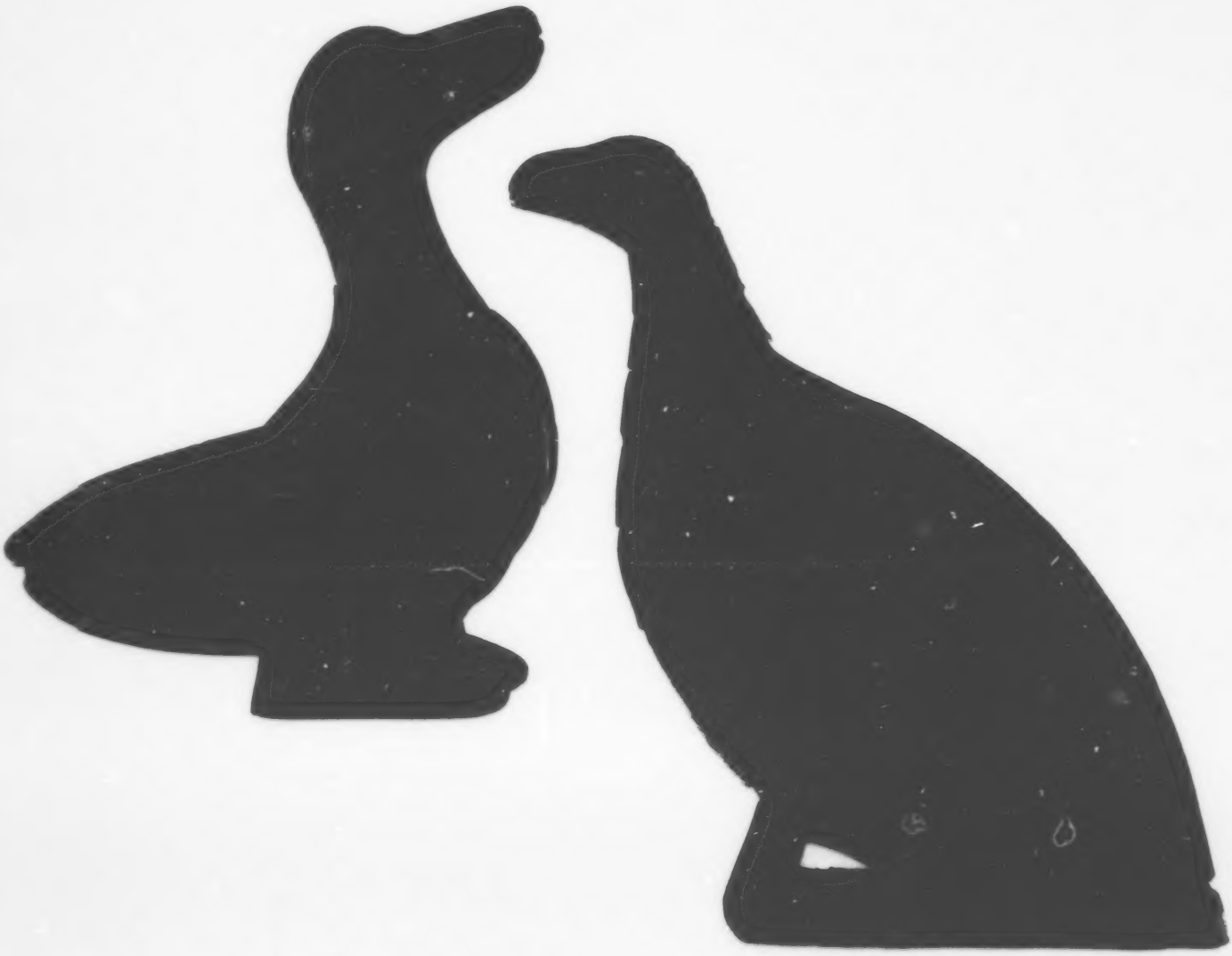


Figure 75
Cat. No. 15665 R
L. 8.8cm W. 3cm H. 10.5cm

Figure of a goose-like bird simply carved in a naturalistic style but with formline design wings. The curious resemblance between the bird's beak and a dog's nose is difficult to ignore.

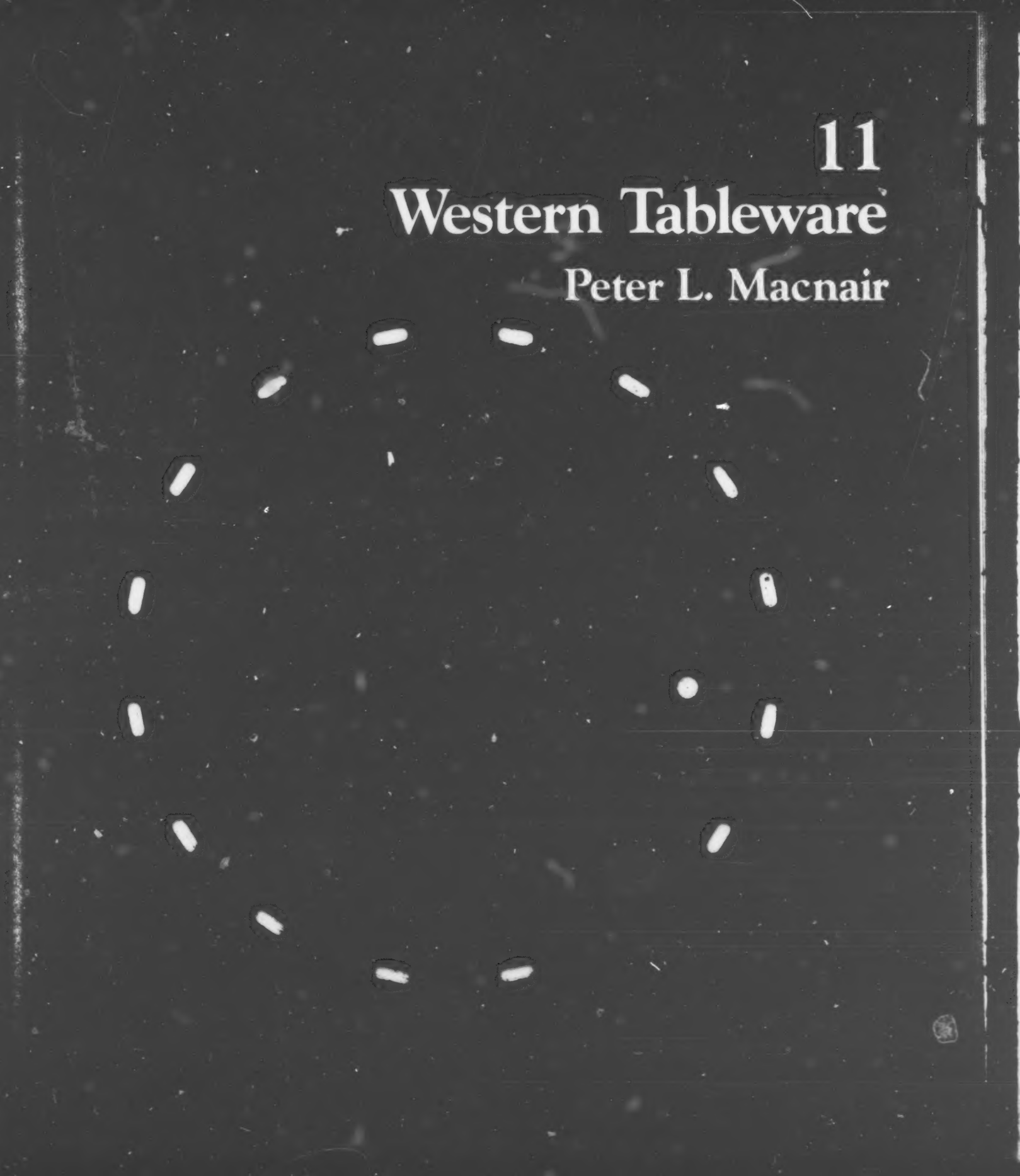
Figure 74
Cat. No. 15800
L. 14.4cm W. 2.3cm H. 15.8cm

Figure of a flat, stylized, domestic fowl. The wing feathers are outlined with double lines and every second feather of the breast and neck has a herringbone design. The rest are plain.



11
Western Tableware

Peter L. Macnair



Overleaf
Figure 76
Cat. No. 12926
D. 40cm H. 5.5cm

Large, Euro-American motif plate with stylized floral decoration. The narrow, plain rim has 16 (one now missing) oval, ivory inlays and the centres of the five main rosette-like flowers have round, ivory centres (one now missing). The underside (not illustrated) is similarly decorated.

Plates and platters inspired by European china and glassware first appear in the late 1830s. In shape, they are entirely alien, bearing no resemblance to traditional Haida forms of serving dishes which were made of wood or mountain sheep horn. These new creations may be circular, and so designated plates, or oblong, here called platters. By far the most common type is the plate and classic examples almost invariably feature circular geometric elements interwoven with floral components. Bone or ivory inlay is a common feature which, when added, enhances the engraved design. A fine, typical example is illustrated in figure 76. This carving is surprisingly thin, therefore it can hardly be considered functional given the tendency of argillite to chip if handled roughly.

The design elements in this piece remain open to interpretation. Kaufmann (1969:129-130) sees them as being derived from the jagging wheel or pie crimper made from bone and ivory by whalers while passing idle hours at sea. This design usually incorporates a solid circle with radiating spokes attached to a cylindrical handle. Wright (1977:80) insists the side paddle-wheels of the Hudson's Bay Company's ship *Beaver* were the source of inspiration of this element on ship panel pipes and one has to assume she would claim the same source for such elements on plates, given her adamant position regarding the origin of this device.

Other suggestions must be considered. John Veillette (1976) has pointed out that the half-circular designs seen both on ship panel pipes (Fig. 39) and plates (Fig. 77) bear a clear resemblance to sunburst patterns featured in late Georgian furniture and tableware (see Gessler & Gessler 1976:13) examples of which easily could have been part of a ship's outfit. He has also noted the similarity between these and designs on pressed glass tableware made by the Boston and Sandwich Glass Co. about 1840. These appear to be the most logical source, given that they decorate circular plates.

As indicated earlier, Hudson's Bay Company employees were instrumental in collecting argillite and shipping it to friends and museums in Britain, Europe and eastern North America. An important contributor was William Fraser Tolmie, Company physician and fur trader posted to the Pacific Northwest in 1833. He maintained a record of his adventures on the coast (Tolmie 1963), particularly at Forts Vancouver, Nisqually, McLoughlin and Simpson. Tolmie was keenly interested in the native population and took considerable trouble to record vocabularies of nearly 20 Indian languages. Additionally, he recorded the names of villages, estimated their populations, and listed the names of chiefs, information which is helpful today in demographic studies. He provided a brief and fact-filled description of a Bella Bella Indian winter ceremonial confirming the presence, in 1834, of such ceremonial paraphernalia as the Chilkat blanket, frontlet headdress, and masks and the use of theatrical devices including feigned cannibalism (Tolmie 1963:292). Tolmie maintained a great interest in phrenology and corresponded with his company predecessor Dr. Scouler on this and other subjects. In October, 1838, Tolmie shipped a collection of curios to the museum in Inverness, Scotland, his birthplace. Included was a "Basin carried (carved) by the Haida Indians inhabiting Queen Charlotte's island." and "Pipes — the same as" (Tolmie 1963:327). While not explicitly stated, the basin and pipes were, in all probability, argillite carvings. Unfortunately, these pieces have not survived in the collection of the Inverness Museum if indeed they ever reached their destination.

Forwarded with this shipment, sent to London on the Hudson's Bay Company's ship *Columbia*, was a similar collection made by Duncan Finlayson, a Hudson's Bay factor on the coast between 1831 and 1837 (Walbran 1909:179), to one Js. Webster which included "stone pipes — 3" (Tolmie 1963:328). Again we can consider that these were argillite pipes although the possibility that they were stone pipes from the interior of the province cannot be entirely discounted.

Significantly, in the following year (October 1, 1839) Tolmie sends his mentor, Dr. Scouler, a collection which includes "Pipes and Dishes" (1963:333). As argued elsewhere (see Appendix) these carvings were almost certainly the ones placed by Scouler in the Jardin des Plantes, Paris. The significant entry is the term "Dishes"; one of these could well be the ". . . hollow dish of argillite decorated with flowers and fruit, after a European model" as described by Hamy and quoted in translation by Barbeau (Barbeau 1953:2).

Tolmie's diary entries and the Scouler-Tolmie plate are the earliest evidence so far discovered for the Western-style plate, suggesting for it a date of 1838 and confirming it for the date of 1839. Two years later Lieutenant Wilkes acquired at least five Western-type plates which were eventually placed in the Smithsonian collection. These are typically decorated with floral and geometric elements.

It is probable plates of this type were produced until about 1880. Some examples are quite amusing, incorporating as they do design elements copied from labels affixed to manufactured goods. A plate (cat. no. VII-B-764) in the National Museum of Man, Ottawa, collection bears a boar's head shown in profile and the legend "∴TERI WASHTON & CO", probably derived from a manufacturers label. Coins, as well, lent themselves to the circular format; a plate in the

same collection features an American eagle with shield on chest and olive branch and arrows in talons, obviously derived from the imprint on a U.S. silver dollar. Additionally it bears the legend "UNTI D TIRICATIO", further confirmation of the source since these letters are all found in the inscription on the coin, "United States of America". Another western plate in the Smithsonian collection (cat. no. 317350) bears the letters "OHAFDOL" obviously taken from the "HALF DOL" legend on the U.S. fifty-cent piece. The undersides of the two plates noted above are decorated, in a very accomplished manner, with circular and floral motifs, clearly relating them to the examples illustrated in this section.

A few Western dishes are oval but these are rare. The platter illustrated in figure 81 features floral and full sunburst representations underneath (not illustrated). However, the upper surface depicts a narrative scene in which two men, in tailored clothing, play with a dog. Such pictorial examples are exceptional, especially on plates and platters which are Western in type. In fact the only other similar examples known to us (Peabody Harvard cat. no. R166) and National Museum of Man, Ottawa photo J237 (location of carving unknown) both feature scenes of men with a dog. In our opinion, all three are from the hand of the same carver because of the subject and execution, making the Reif example an important piece.

Included in this category are knives, forks, mugs and wine glasses of argillite, none of which are represented in this collection. Few examples were produced, or at least survived, but they point out clearly that the Haida observed the white man at the table and sought to record the conventions of formal dining through the replication of a place setting. A collection of six knives and six forks (cat. nos. 16/883 - 16/894) are found in the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and similar pieces are in the Smithsonian collection (cat. no. 88995). Several mugs (cat. nos. VII-X-301; VII-X-302; VII-X-303; VII-B-768) and a distinctive platter (cat no. VII-X-298) with a charming stylized flower design are part of the National Museum of Man, Ottawa collection. These are so similar in design and technique that they must have been created by the same artisan. Wine glasses are very rare but one or two exist in private collections and there is one in the Glenbow collection (Sheehan 1981:156).

A few examples incorporate elements other than the geometric and floral motifs so common to the majority of objects in this category. Figure 77 includes four reptiles in an arched pose vaguely reminiscent of the coiled serpents featured on certain ship panel pipes (Fig. 49).

Rather unusual and difficult to categorize is the container illustrated by figure 82. Because its form is non-traditional, and because the illustration on one side is obviously Euro-American, we have included it in this category. The decoration features a woman in Western dress and showing, significantly, a pair of feathered wings attached to her shoulders. There seems no question that an angel is represented here although the source is more probably a biblical illustration than the ship's figurehead where angels also occur (Chapter 8). If this depiction is indeed Euro-American, the illustration on the other side of the container is undoubtedly Haida. Here we see a male figure with wings, feathered tail and raven-like beak clasping a crescent moon. This well may represent Raven's theft of the moon as described and illustrated by Hoover (1981:145).

There is some suggestion that Western tableware persisted until about 1880. Certainly some floral motif plates were collected about this time. But after 1880 they were generally replaced by Haida plates and platters (see Chapter 16), some of which incorporated floral patterns on the underside, indicating a connection between the two categories.

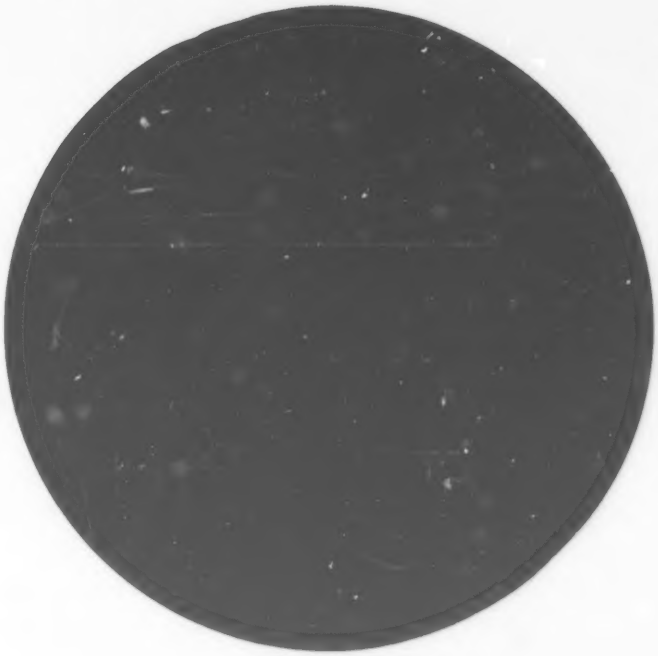


Figure 77
Cat. No. 15709 R
D. 27.2cm H. 3.8cm

Euro-American motif plate with geometric, stylized floral and animal designs. The front has a band of half rosettes alternating with serpents around a large central rosette. The back (not illustrated) is carved with a broad band of four flowers each with a pair of leaves on a cross-hatched ground. The footring is done in a cable design.

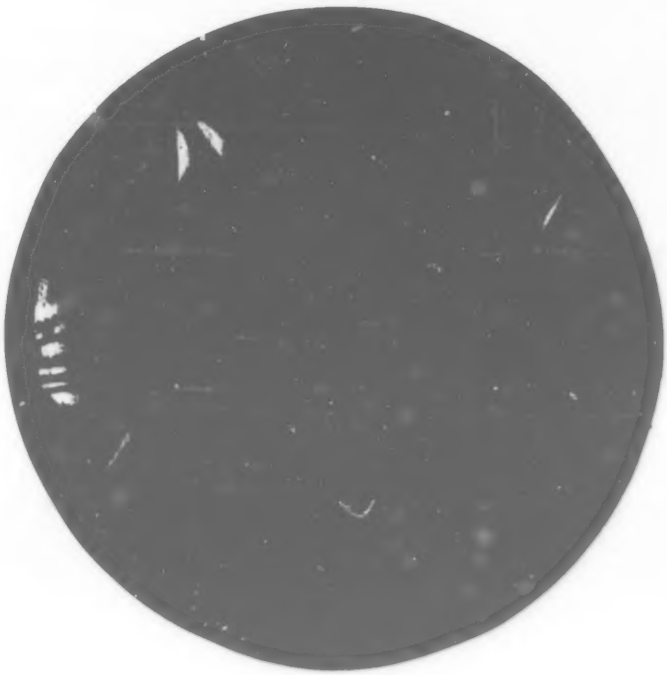


Figure 78
Cat. No. 15707 R
D. 19.3cm H. 2.9cm

Euro-American motif plate with geometric and stylized floral decoration. The front has a row of half rosettes with alternating sunburst and concentric, notched, line motifs around a central circle containing a carved cross. The back (not illustrated) has a band of stylized floral decoration based on four flowers with leaves connected by a scroll-pattern of double line.

Figure 79
Cat. No. 7922
D. 15.2cm H. 3.5cm

Small Euro-American motif plate with flat rim decorated with four pieces of bone or ivory. The centre of the dish is decorated with a rosette surrounded by a band of cross-hatching, a band of circles and a band of scallop shapes. The underside is plain except for a line around the foot and rim.

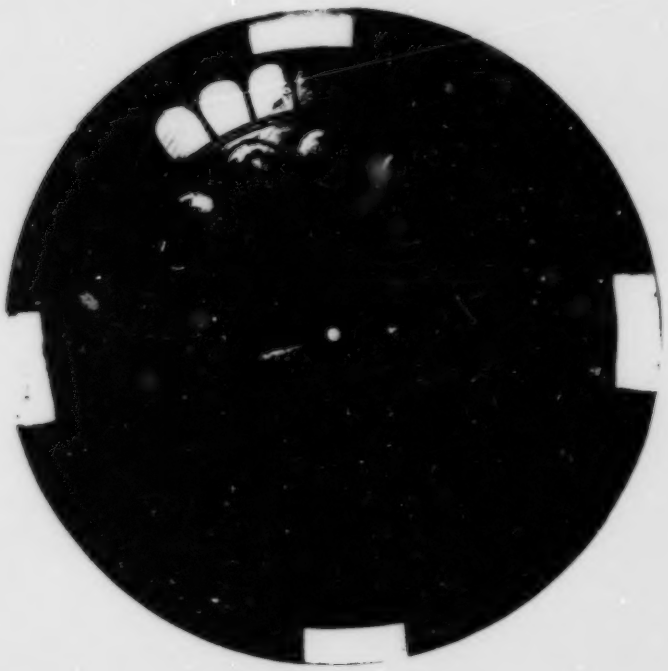


Figure 80
Cat. No. 10306
D. 37cm H. 6.5cm

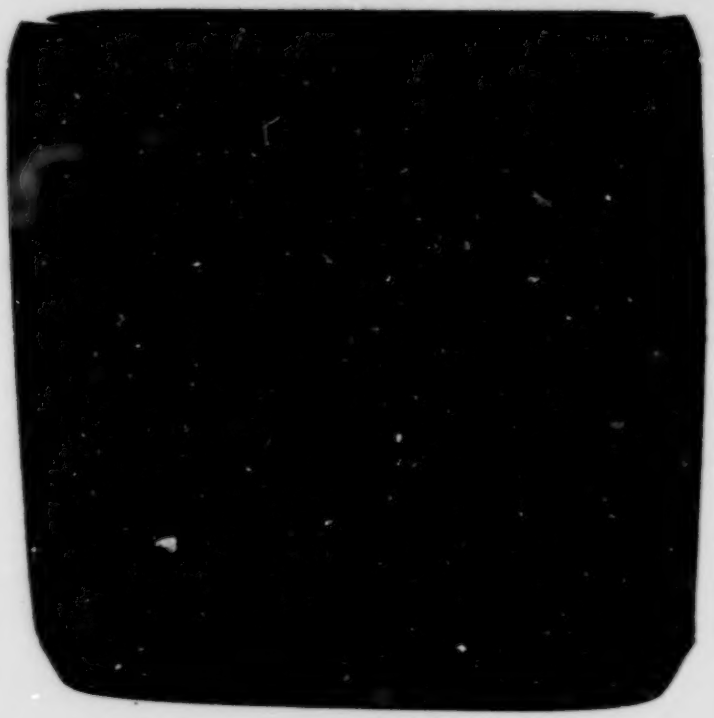
Large, Euro-American motif plate with simple geometric floral decoration on the concave face and more elaborate, but still stylized, floral designs on the convex face (not illustrated).

Figure 81
Cat. No. 15704 R
L. 28.4cm W. 20cm H. 3.3cm

Euro-American motif platter. The front decoration consists of two figures wearing fitted shirts, headbands, trousers and footwear, one playing with a dog, the other playing with a ball. The back (not illustrated) has a large flower at each end and sprays of small flowers between.

Figure 82
Cat. No. 6370
L. 11.3cm W. 4.8cm H. 11cm

Straight-sided container, oval in cross section, with plain bevelled borders at top and bottom. One side depicts a Euro-American female with wings, presumably an angel. The opposite side features a humanoid with feathered wings, tail and legs. Projecting down from its chin is a beak that holds a crescent motif. This is an image of Raven who brought light, shown here as a crescent moon, to the world (Swanton 1905a:116-118).



12 Recorders

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Detail of recorder
Figure 85, see page 101

Marius Barbeau sought to establish the flute, or recorder as it should be properly called, as the first type of object carved from argillite. But his convoluted attempts to manipulate the evidence are now so obviously contrived that we must view these simple musical instruments as coming from a later period. Traditional Haida musical instruments were limited to drums, rattles and whistles. The latter were used to indicate the crys of spirits, birds or animals during theatrical performances and although some of them were complex, allowing more than one tone, they were not designed to permit a tune to be played upon them.

Obviously the Haida observed Euro-American sailors playing penny whistles, flutes and other such wind instruments and in time they began to produce versions of these in argillite. They resemble recorders in that air is blown across a sounding tip and that notes are achieved through manipulating the fingers on holes along the body of the instrument. While the classic recorder had eight holes, the number of these vary on argillite examples, with six being usual.

Often the mouthpiece on argillite recorders is made of some soft metal, pewter being a possible material. Metal inlay and bands may be found elsewhere on the instrument as well. Two-dimensional designs, usually floral patterns, decorate the stem and sculpted figures extend from the instrument; eagles and frogs, usually in combination, are typical. The classic example in this collection is seen in figure 85, where all the above attributes are present.

Drew and Wilson note what thus far appears to be the earliest reference to an argillite recorder when they quote the observations of R.C.P. Baylee, chaplain aboard the Royal Navy frigate *Thetis* which patrolled the waters surrounding the Queen Charlotte Islands in June, 1852. Genuinely interested in the Haida, Baylee notes that they:

> . . . offered for sale flutes, made out of stone or slate, and pipes of the same materials with most curious devices carved on them, displaying a degree of skill truly astonishing, when one considers the rude implements a rusty nail or broken blade of a pen-knife, with which they were wrought out. (Drew & Wilson 1980:186)

Thus we can be certain that recorders were established as a category of argillite carving by 1852.

One of the earliest documented recorders is one collected by Lady Franklin, widow of the famous English arctic explorer Sir John Franklin, in 1861 (Barbeau 1957:6). Lady Franklin visited Victoria, administrative seat of the Colony of Vancouver Island, in 1861, accompanied by her niece Miss Sophia Cracroft. The ladies were much entertained by officers of the Hudson's Bay Company during their sojourn and Sophia kept a keen and lively record of her experiences. While in Victoria, the adventurers arranged to journey to New Westminster, capital of the Crown Colony of British Columbia; from there they travelled, by steamer, up the Fraser River to the farthest navigable point. Their appointed escort for this trip was an accommodating young man, second Lieutenant Hankin. On March 2, while they were still in Victoria, Hankin procured a piece of argillite which Miss Cracroft described as follows:

> . . .a very curious specimen of Indian handicraft just brought down by the Northern Indians who are extremely clever. A flute & pipe in one piece — carved in slate & ornamented with mother of pearl — the chief figures are frogs, admirably cut. My Aunt bought it, and I have secured a less costly, but very good specimen of the same kind of workmanship. (Smith 1974:31)

Recorders were still in vogue in 1864 when Francis Poole visited the Queen Charlotte Islands to explore for minerals. He noted that Skidegate carvers:

> . . . showed me beautifully wrought articles of their own design and make, and amongst them some flutes manufactured from an unctuous blue slate. I bought one for five dollars. It was well worth the price. The two ends were inlaid with lead, giving the idea of a fine silver mounting — two of the keys perfectly represented frogs in a sitting posture, they eyes being picked out with burnished lead. A more admirable sample of native workmanship I never saw. (Poole 1972:258)

Poole's description is of great interest for it could equally apply to several other recorders, namely the Lady Franklin recorder (now in the Museum of the American Indian, New York), and an example in the American Museum of Natural History, New York (no. 22711) as well as that in figure 85. In all three examples the lead bindings, inlay and frogs are present, as described by Poole. Each also has a rather realistically rendered eagle near the top of the instrument. It is this configuration of bird and frogs combined with floral elements which characterizes the argillite recorder. Because the majority of known examples take this format, Barbeau and others were led to suggest that all of these were made by the same person. Certainly, some may be from the same hand but others show a distinctly different personal style.

Possibly the most complex of all recorders is one from the Reif collection (Fig. 84). While it exhibits a frog, eagle, and metal inlay, the traditional two-dimensional elements

integrated with heads carved in low relief, mark this as unusual. The handling of the graphic design, which includes double engraving and parallel hatching in some areas, suggests this is from a later almost baroque period, probably after 1875.

Without question recorders were still being produced in the 1870s as first indicated by Robin Wright (1977:21). Wright notes that James Richardson of the Geological Survey of Canada explored the argillite quarry in 1872 and that he provided the first chemical analysis of argillite. He observed that the Haida created objects for sale from the material and remarked they carved:

> . . . tobacco pipes, numberless grotesque images, and musical instruments resembling flutes, to all of which they gave a good polish. (Richardson 1873:61)

Just as we are never absolutely certain when a first type-specimen was produced, we cannot tell when a particular tradition ceased. Certainly the recorder persisted late into the nineteenth centry if an example in the Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, is any indication. This specimen (no. A250) with its bulky, cumbersome frogs and characteristic flat design is stylistically typical of a post-1880, Skidegate school of carvers.

Only about two dozen recorders are known in public collections, an insignificant number when compared to other argillite forms. While examples with the eagle-frog motif predominate, a few exhibit subjects only of alien origin. An example in the Peabody Harvard collection (no. R202) features a double-coiled serpent with arrow tongue as seen in a few ship panel pipes (see Fig. 43). Such rare examples, incorporating only Western images, may indeed predate the type chosen as typical of the genre. Two fine, and rare "Western" examples are found in the Reif collection. (Figs. 83 & 86) They evoke impressions of vertical Euro-American figures and Western dishes, further suggesting an early date. The similarity between the top-hatted gentlemen on the recorder, (Figure 83) and that of the single, standing Euro-American in figure 66 cannot be overlooked. As well, the presence of obvious westerners and the sunburst and floral elements on the second example (Fig. 86) argues a connection with motifs on Western tableware which flourished in the 1840s.

Figure 83
Cat. No. 15737 R
L. 24.5cm W. 5cm H. 2.7cm

Recorder with Euro-American inspired decoration and, at each end, metal mounts. On each side there is a man with a top hat and at his feet, in both cases, there is a female figure dressed in a bonnet and striped dress. There are four tone holes.

Figure 84
Cat. No. 15744 R
L. 50.8cm W. 4.1cm H. 7.3cm

A Haida motif recorder with metal mounts at each end, and abalone inlay, as well as formline design and figures carved in the round. There is an eagle, a bear (?) and a frog, plus another animal whose feet alone remain. There are six tone holes.

Figure 85
Cat. No. 10780
L. 56.5cm W. 2.7cm H. 4.8cm

A recorder decorated with Haida and Euro-American motifs including an eagle, three frogs and floral designs. It is capped at both ends, as well as inlaid, with metal. There are six tone holes.

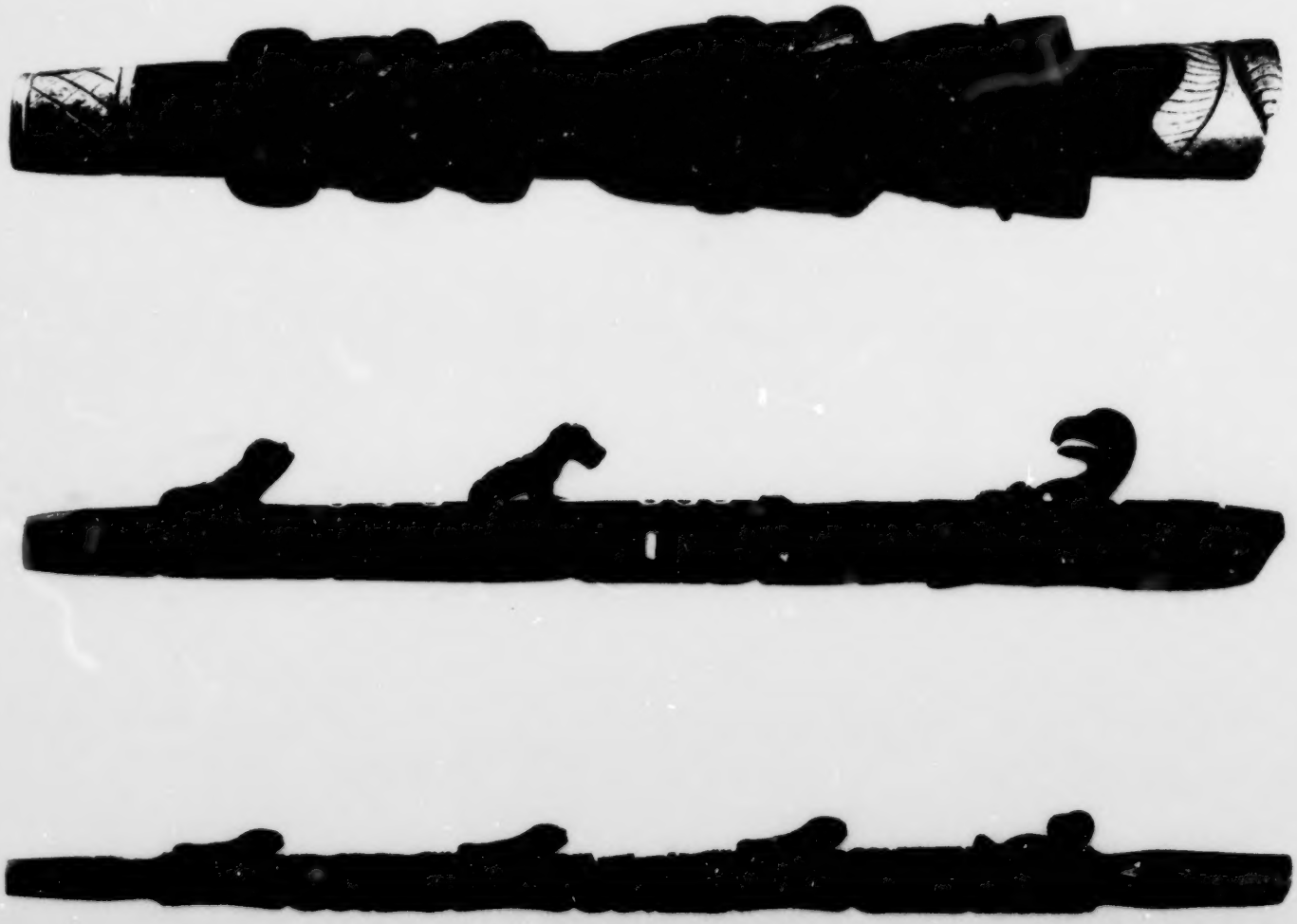


Figure 86
Cat. No. 15646 R
L. 27.5cm W. 2.8cm H. 7.2cm

A recorder with metal mounts at each end and four tone holes. Abstract linear patterns, some with vaguely plant-like themes cover the entire surface. Facing each end are two figures, both with heads bowed and wearing robes, perhaps ecclesiastical. Both are shown with receding hairlines.

13
Early Trade Pipes

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Figure 87
Cat. No. 15635 R
L. 19cm W. 5.1cm H. 1.9cm

Early trade pipe with a Euro-American man's head carved on the bowl and a figure of a man and a dog decorating the stem. The man is seated leaning back against the bowl and is holding the dog's tail with both hands.

We have established that the art of smoking was introduced to the Haida by Euro-American adventurers who invaded the Northwest Coast at the end of the eighteenth century. While the sailors themselves may have preferred wooden pipes, the inexpensive clay pipe was quickly introduced in the trade. Once the Hudson's Bay Company was established on the coast, the area was well supplied with these pipes as both Company documents and archaeological records attest. The simplest clay pipes featured a distinctive bowl form (Fig. 92), delicate stem and, more often than not, a spur-like projection at the base of the bowl (Fig. 88). Commercial clay pipes are illustrated in use on a few ship panel pipes, further confirming their presence.

At some point, the Haida began to copy these clay pipes in argillite. An early record, if acceptable, is that of a clay pipe form in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum. It is of particular interest because the bowl is decorated with leaves, berries and flowers. According to the museum catalogue, it was collected by the artist Paul Kane who visited the colony of Vancouver Island in 1848. However, it was not acquired by the museum until 1946 by which time its provenance could not be ascertained with certainty. Robin Wright illustrates this pipe in an article in *American Indian Art Magazine* (Wright 1980:42) but oddly enough claims it was collected by Emmons.

An important variation of these clay pipe forms is one which features a portrait-like human head on the bowl (Figs. 89, 90). Wright presents convincing evidence that the argillite versions were inspired by clay portrait pipes produced for American politicians when campaigning for office. She notes a remarkable similarity between certain features on a campaign pipe used by Millard Fillmore sometime between 1850 and 1856. This appears to be the earliest date at which an American politician or celebrity first used a portrait pipe although Wright hastens to point out there were earlier European and British models. But these trans-Atlantic examples demonstrate no great affinity with the argillite versions.

Again, there is tantalizing evidence that the portrait pipe may predate Wright's claim of 1850. A companion to the pipe in the Royal Ontario Museum described above is obviously a portrait pipe. It is particularly interesting because the eyebrows, eyesockets and nose are handled in the manner of traditional Haida sculpture. Yet the individual sports a great sprouting moustache which relates it to the campaign pipes. What is seen as a laurel wreath around the brow in the clay examples appears here as a rope with an additional decorative piece above the forehead. The main point about this is that it also was supposedly from the Kane collection and the implication is therefore that it was collected in 1848. This is by no means absolute evidence, however, because even if it assuredly came from Kane, he might have acquired it through some contact long after his return from the Pacific coast.

Whatever the truth of the matter, it is clear that argillite pipes modelled after commercially produced clay trade pipes flourished in the two or three decades following 1850. While some are plain, others are complex, incorporating a variety of free-standing sculptures placed atop the stem. In most examples, these are creatures from the white man's world: men riding horses, combatants wrestling and humans in European dress associating with animals or birds (Figs. 87, 93). In some, a male in tailored clothing assumes the position taken by humans when carved as figurehead on ships (Figs. 92, 94). Very few that seem to fit into this early period feature Haida motifs although an example in the Burke Museum, Seattle, illustrates a dragonfly hovering behind a Euro-American portrait on the bowl (cat. no. 25.0/253, illustrated in Holm 1972:93).

It is unadorned pipes of this clay pipe form that Fladmark found archaeologically at the Richardson Ranch Site at Tlell. While his research shows that at least some argillite pipes were smoked by the Haida, as demonstrated in the Appendix, his evidence is not conclusive enough to assert such pipes were the first objects produced in argillite. We see the trade pipe as having a later form in which the motifs are almost exclusively Haida and in which the stem is much more bulky and cumbersome. These are described in Chapter 18 and, in reality, form a continuum with the earlier examples.

Figure 88
Cat. No. 15637 R
L. 6cm W. 3.1cm H. 2.2cm

Early trade pipe carved from red stone in a form based closely on a clay pipe but with a very short tapered stem. The front has a face with a rope-patterned border which is repeated in a more elaborate border around the edge of the bowl. The bottom of the bowl has a spur.

Figure 89
Cat. No. 15676 R
L. 25.2cm W. 2.8cm H. 7.5cm

Early trade pipe carved with Euro-American figures. The bowl is in the form of a man's head with a hat (?) and the stem is decorated with two men, one sitting facing the bowl and the other holding a knife and grappling with a bear.

Figure 90
Cat. No. 15636 R
L. 9 3cm W. 6.7cm H. 2.7cm

Fragment of an early trade pipe with the bowl in the form of a Euro-American man's head and a seated figure (arms and legs missing) on the stem. The stem is incomplete.

Figure 91
Cat. No. 17702
L. 215cm W. 23cm H. 44cm

Early trade pipe with a spurred bowl that has foliate and scroll motifs on a cross-hatched ground. The stem has an octagonal mouthpiece.

Figure 92
Cat. No. 15650 R
L. 10.1cm W. 2.1cm H. 4.7cm

Early trade pipe featuring a short-stemmed, plain bowl with a Euro-American male figure 'strapped' to the front. He resembles a ship's figurehead, wears a frock coat and holds an ivory telescope.

Figure 94
Cat. No. 15786
L. 10.4cm W. 5.5cm H. 2.1cm

Early unfinished trade pipe composed of Euro-American figures. The fragment shows a man's head with collar end, on a smaller scale, a full figure of a man in frock coat standing with arms akimbo and leaning forward.

Figure 95
Cat. No. 16158
L. 6.6cm W. 4.3cm H. 2.7cm

Early trade pipe with a short stem carved in red stone. The front of the bowl is carved with a Euro-American man flanked on either side by a bird and a dog. The stem has floral-motif decoration. The pipe is closely modelled after a Euro-American clay pipe.

Figure 93
Cat. No. 15787
L. 11.8cm W. 6.4cm H. 2.1cm

Fragment of an early trade pipe consisting of a Euro-American man seated on an undrilled, facetted section of pipe stem and leaning against a goose-like bird. The bird's wings are decorated with formline design.

Figure 96
Cat. No. 15673 R
L. 29.1cm W. 2.7cm H. 7.5cm

Early trade pipe with an ivory inlaid face inserted into the bowl and two ivory-headed, Euro-American men seated on the stem with a drum-like object between them. The stem is relieved with simple formline design and capped with an ivory mouthpiece.

Figure 97
Cat. No. 4125
L. 10.5cm W. 1.9cm H. 4.1cm

Fragment of an early trade pipe consisting of a bowl in the form of a Euro-American man's head and a simple stem with a man (head and arms missing) seated astride and facing the mouthpiece (also missing). The pipe is from the Tolmie collection and may have been collected as early as 1852.

Figure 98
Cat. No. 11308
L. 9.5cm W. 2.2cm H. 5.4cm

Fragment of an early, unfinished trade pipe. The bowl has a human face and part of a seated figure remains on the stem. This fragment was found near Victoria, British Columbia, in an area known to have been used as a camp ground by northern Indians.

14 Early Totem Poles

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Figure 99
Cat. No. 6695
L. 13.5cm W. 10.3cm H. 32cm

Early totem pole of very wide, flat form on a lozenge-shaped, champhered base with notched edges. The main figures include two bears, the uppermost of which holds a sea mammal on its chest. Two profile faces flank a five-ringed cylinder which rises from the forehead of the upper bear.

By the middle of the twentieth century, the ubiquitous model totem pole came to characterize Haida argillite carving. The majority of residents in British Columbia, where the art has always been produced, knew the material only as totem poles. This is because the wide range of unique forms produced before 1900 had largely all been shipped out of the province. The model pole has an interesting history and evolved in form over time and seems to have its origins in the 1860s.

The earliest poles in argillite currently known are two in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, England (cat. nos. 2119=428, 2120=429). These were donated in 1867 by Frederick Dally, who, in 1865, was a pioneering photographer in the colony of British Columbia. When in British Columbia he did not visit the Queen Charlotte Islands but would have had ample opportunity to collect curios from the Hudson's Bay Company in Victoria, where he was based.

The Dally poles are not overly tall and in most ways conform to the rules of monumental sculpture as expressed in the great red cedar totem poles that graced Haida villages while they were still viable. They illustrate the classic forms of facial sculpture, indicate a one to one proportion of head to body and are a shallow u-shape in cross section. The latter reflects the form of house frontal poles (see Fig. 100) which reflected the practice of applying essentially a two-dimensional design to the curved half cylinder of a log and cutting out the details in relatively shallow relief. Excellent examples of the direct connection with the massive original can be seen in the form of figures 99 and 102. We can assume the majority of examples produced up until about 1880 are more or less miniature versions of extant house frontal, memorial and perhaps inside house poles. The practice of replicating real wooden poles continued well into the twentieth century but it appears that some carvers elected to produce either theoretical poles or poles whose figures assumed a narrative expression, illustrating episodes from myths not elaborated upon in the real totem poles.

Still within this category are poles that are often taller than the earliest produced poles. The more massive examples came into vogue around 1880 and ranged from over fifty centimetres to almost a metre in height. It must be emphasized, however, that shorter poles in the 20-40cm range continued to be produced. The best-documented collection of poles over 60cm in height are several examples in the Smithsonian Institution collection. These were acquired by James Swan who visited northern British Columbia in 1879 and collected poles and other carvings from the Hudson's Bay Company store at Fort Simpson and on the Queen Charlotte Islands as well, primarily at Skidegate.

The tall poles tended to be more sculptural than their modest counterparts as will be seen if figures 99 and 102 are compared to figures 104 and 111. Figure 104 reflects closely the style and form of the Swan poles and is the tallest in the collection of the British Columbia Provincial Museum.

By 1880 the Haida were on the verge of being reduced to living in two permanent villages, Skidegate and Masset. Between 1881 and 1890, argillite carving experienced a tremendous surge in output as well as in the exploration of new forms. By then the Haida had returned almost exclusively to traditional subject matter so that the forms that once bore representations of Europeans and their world all but disappeared.

There are a number of probable reasons for this change in subject and form. Without question the fact the Haida then occupied only two villages encouraged the sharing of artistic experiences and ideas among the surviving artists in this medium. And, because they were effectively under church and civil administration once the move was made, they had little opportunity to produce or use traditional ceremonial and ritual objects. Therefore, an alternative was to render images of the familiar past in an acceptable form, hence the sudden outpouring of model totem poles and reflections of other traditional objects.

Skidegate remained the centre for the argillite activity at that time but the presence of the Skidegate-born master Charles Edensaw at Masset meant that the art remained viable there as well. Edensaw's distinctive personal style is well established by this decade and his influence on the Masset school considerable.

While he was born in Skidegate, Edensaw moved, in his youth, to the northern villages where he was to succeed an uncle. The inside housepost of a traditional house in which he reputedly spent his boyhood, was still standing in Skidegate in the 1880s. In 1892 it was acquired for the British Columbia Provincial Museum (Fig. 101). This pole features as a bottom figure a bird with massive recurved beak holding a whale in its talons. This bird has been variously identified as a "Thunderbird" or "blue mountain hawk". Above the bird squats a human wearing a ringed hat and above this secondary figure is a raven with two frogs emerging from its beak.

That this pole played some significant role in Edensaw's history seems certain as it was an image he repeated in argillite, with some variation. Other carvers whose work is attributed to the Masset school seem also to have incorporated elements from this pole and we suggest they borrowed these themes from Edensaw rather than claiming or deriving them directly from the Skidegate source.

Edensaw's influence on art-for-sale was considerable and his personal style and work have been examined elsewhere (cf. Duff *et al* 1967; Holm 1981; Hoover 1983). His clearly identifiable personal style indicates that his work encompassed the decades between 1870 and 1920 so that his argillite poles, for example, are found in both the early and late categories.

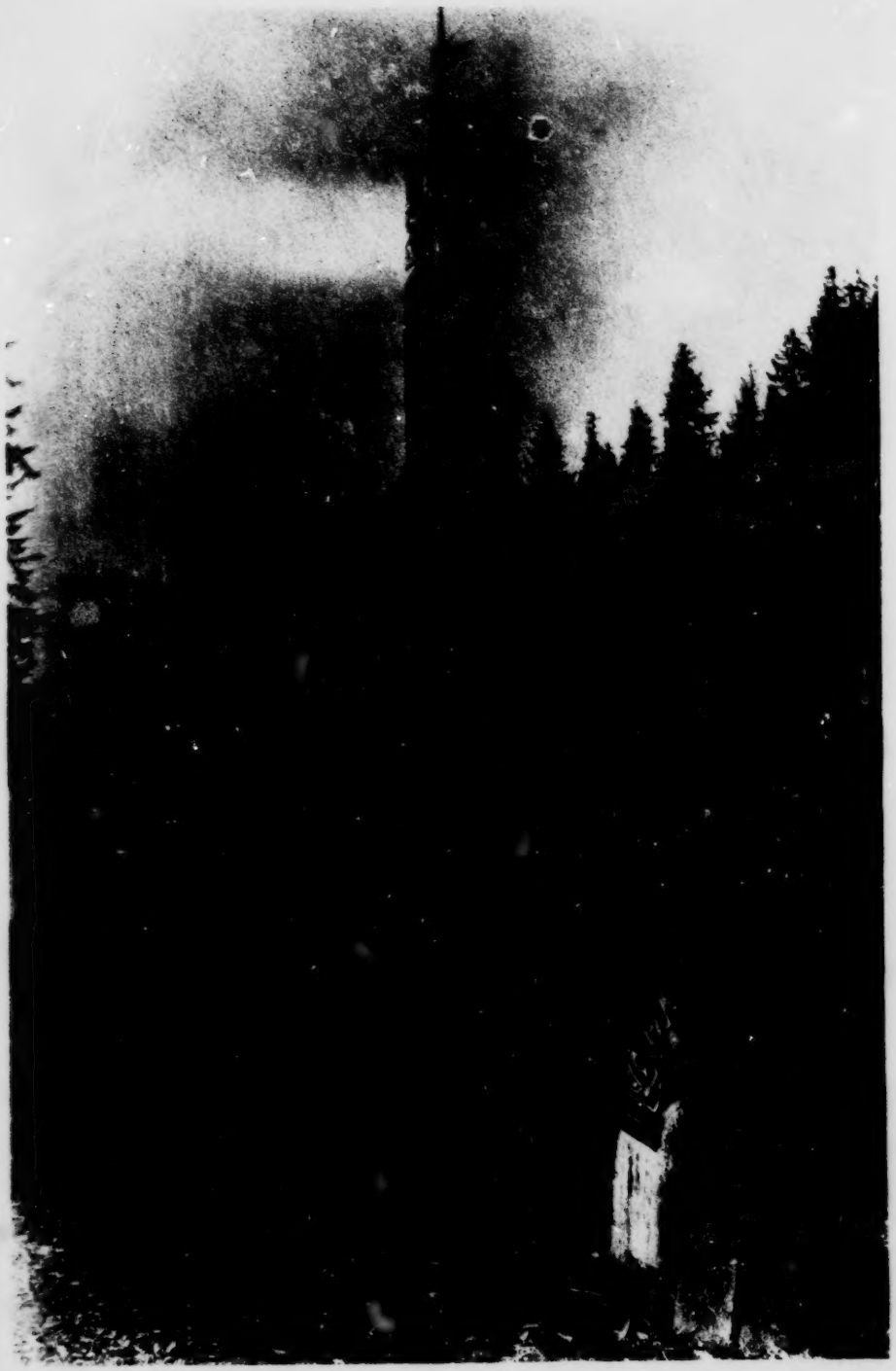


Figure 100

Haida house frontal pole, Haina (New Gold Harbour) village. The sculpture on this hollow-backed pole conforms with the natural curve of the tree from which it was carved, indicating that the figures are essentially flat designs applied to the surface and then carved in low relief. Early argillite totem poles assume this same form, indicating the artists' familiarity with the wooden prototype. Photograph taken prior to 1906 (B.C.P.M. PN 701).

Figure 101

Haida inside housepost (B.C.P.M. artifact No. 1), Skidegate village, photographed in 1881 by Edward Dossetter (Photo 42288, courtesy American Museum of Natural History).

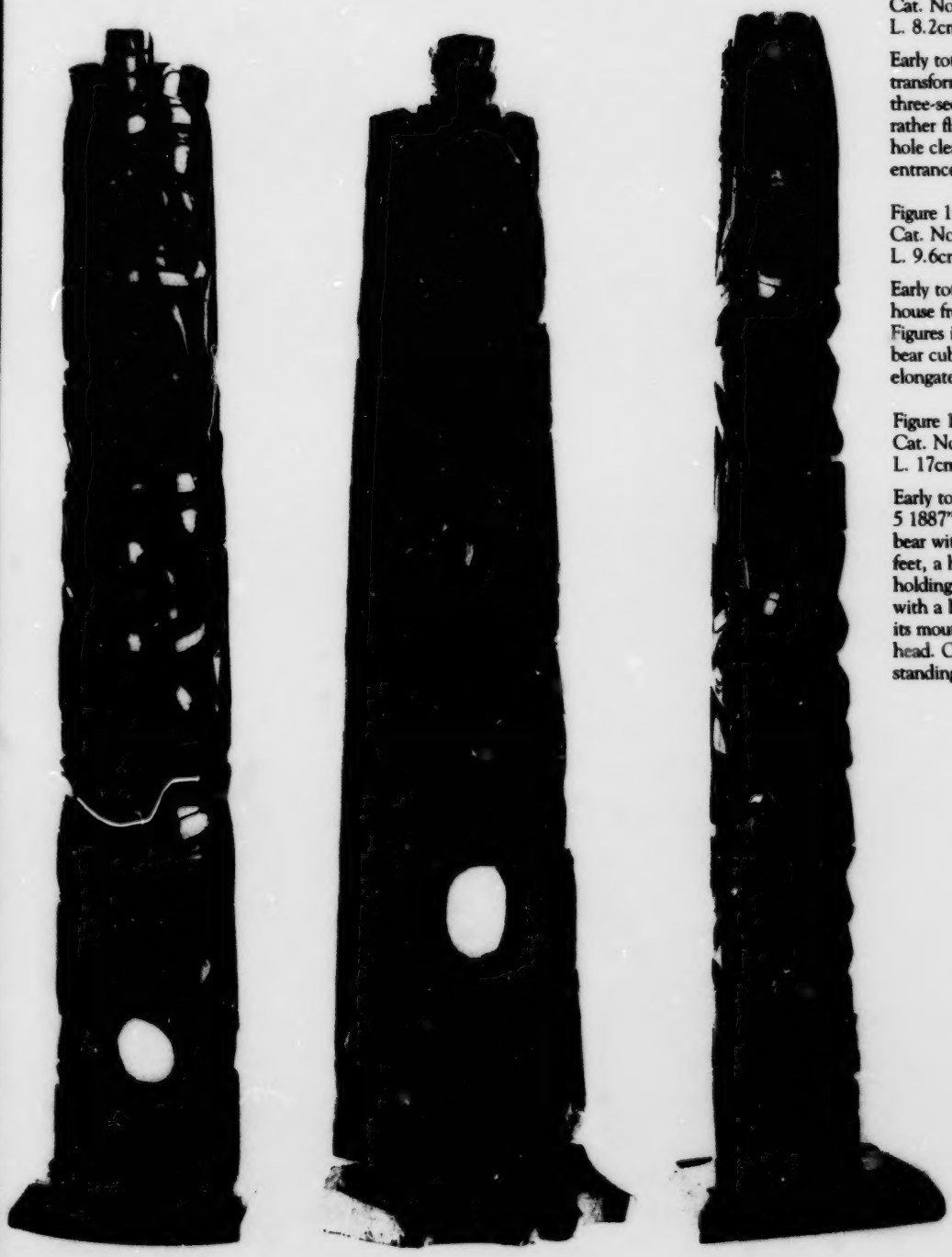


Figure 102
Cat. No. 15710 R
L. 8.2cm W. 7cm H. 41.6cm

Early totem pole composed of three figures: a transforming whale, a bear and a beaver with a three-sectioned cylinder on its head. The pole is rather flat and the back is hollow. The circular hole clearly indicates this is a model house entrance pole.

Figure 103
Cat. No. 15789
L. 9.6cm W. 7.6cm H. 40.8cm

Early totem pole of wide, flat form pierced as for a house frontal pole and resting on a scrolled base. Figures include a beaver chewing a stick with a bear cub at its feet and, above, a man holding an elongated frog. A small man sits atop the pole.

Figure 104
Cat. No. 16649
L. 17cm W. 16cm H. 85.6cm

Early totem pole of massive size inscribed "AUG. 5 1887". From the bottom, the figures include a bear with a cub in each forepaw and a frog at its feet, a humanoid shark holding a whale, a bear holding a frog, and an eagle. On top is a creature with a long snout and forepaws, holding a frog in its mouth. A yoke-like motif frames the creature's head. On either side of the topmost figure is a standing, emaciated human (not visible).

Figure 105
Cat. No. 15724 R
L. 8.9cm W. 6.4cm H. 41.5cm

Early totem pole with hollowed back, on a rectangular champhered base which is a replacement. From the bottom, the figures are a bear, a raven with naturalistically feathered wings, a shaman in full regalia, and, on top, a man in a ringed hat holding two flat, rectangular objects, perhaps intended to be coppers.

Figure 106
Cat. No. 15796
L. 10.5cm W. 5.2cm H. 48.4cm

Early totem pole of hollow-backed form composed of three figures: a sitting bear, a sitting beaver with a cylinder on its head, and an eagle.

Figure 107
Cat. No. 14877
L. 8cm W. 6.4cm H. 28.6cm

Early totem pole composed of two main figures: a beaver holding a stick with a frog between his lower legs, and a shark. The separate base has a zoomorphic figure.

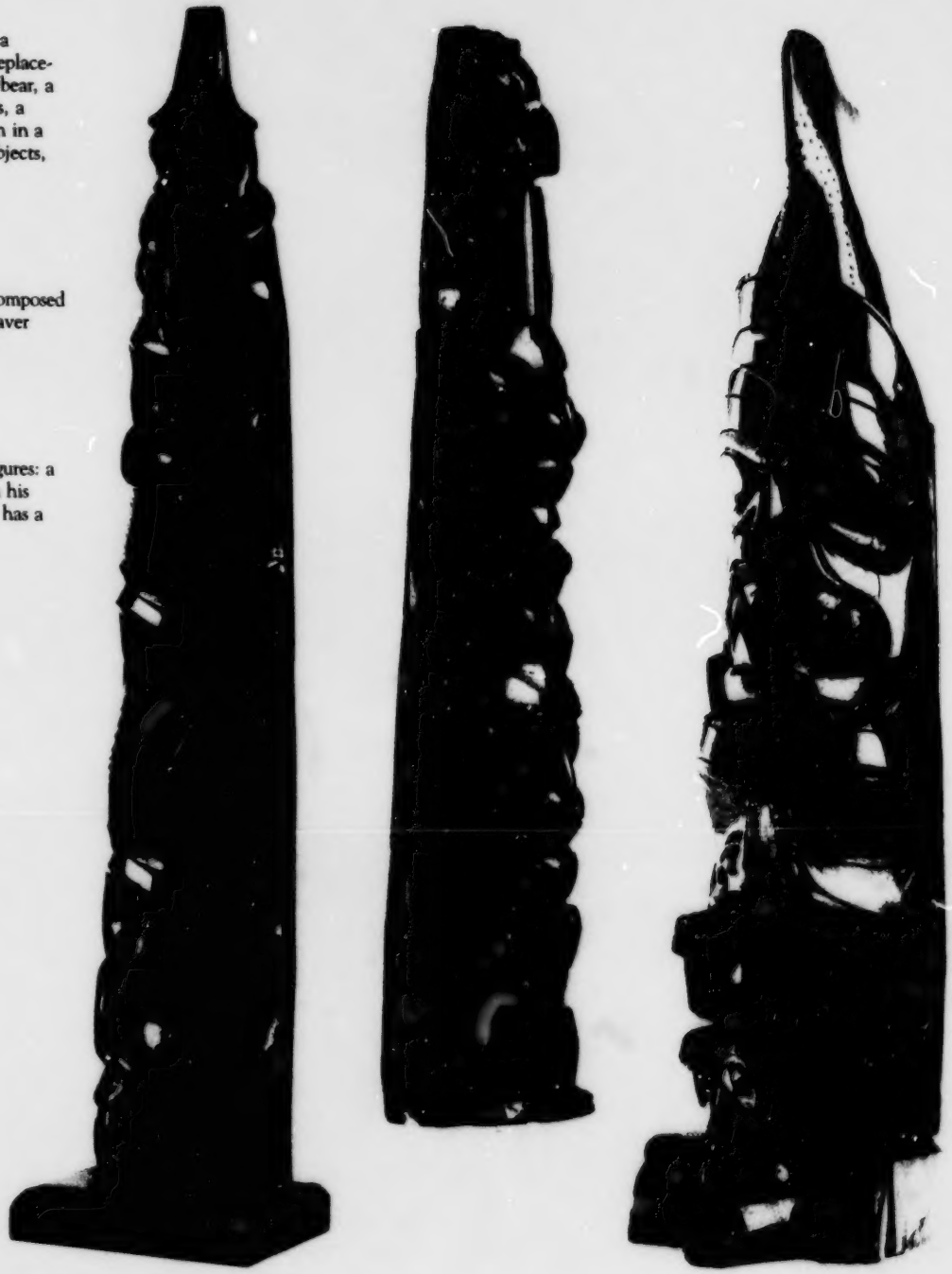


Figure 108
Cat. No. 14577
L. 7.5cm W. 5.4cm H. 27cm

Fragment of an early totem pole consisting of a beaver and a shark woman. The base is relieved by a cove molding. A label, dated 16 January 1889, states that the pole was made by Dan Einja, Haida.

Figure 109
Cat. No. 8416
L. 7.6cm W. 7.6cm H. 16.9cm

Early memorial pole in the form of a sitting beaver holding a stick.

Figure 110
Cat. No. 16933
L. 13.2cm W. 9.8cm H. 47.2cm

Early totem pole composed of, from the bottom, a seated beaver with an upturned, cross-hatched tail that has a humanoid face at its base. Its forelimbs grasp a chewing stick which is located behind its long upper incisors. Above is a clawed, eared quadruped that holds a ringed cylinder projecting upward from the beaver's head. Below each forelimb of this creature are three feather-like motifs. Peering above the latter's ears are two watchmen. Between them is a whale's head with a prominent dorsal fin. This hollow-backed artifact is probably a model of a full-size, house frontal pole.

Figure 111
Cat. No. 12040
L. 12.2cm W. 8.9cm H. 55.4cm

Early totem pole which includes a hawk grasping a whale in its talons. The main figure above is a raven which holds the ringed hat of a human whose feet project through the bird's upturned tail. Two frogs embellish the raven's wings. Above is a shark biting a halibut. A crouching human with a bear on its shoulders completes the piece.

Figure 112
Cat. No. 12071
L. 8.3cm W. 7.5cm H. 38cm

Early totem pole depicting four major images. They are, from bottom to top: a hawk holding a whale; a raven holding a human in the fashion of figure 111; a seated bear holding the cylinder that rises from the bird's forehead; and a raven grasping its tail. The hooked beak of the bottom bird is a reconstruction.

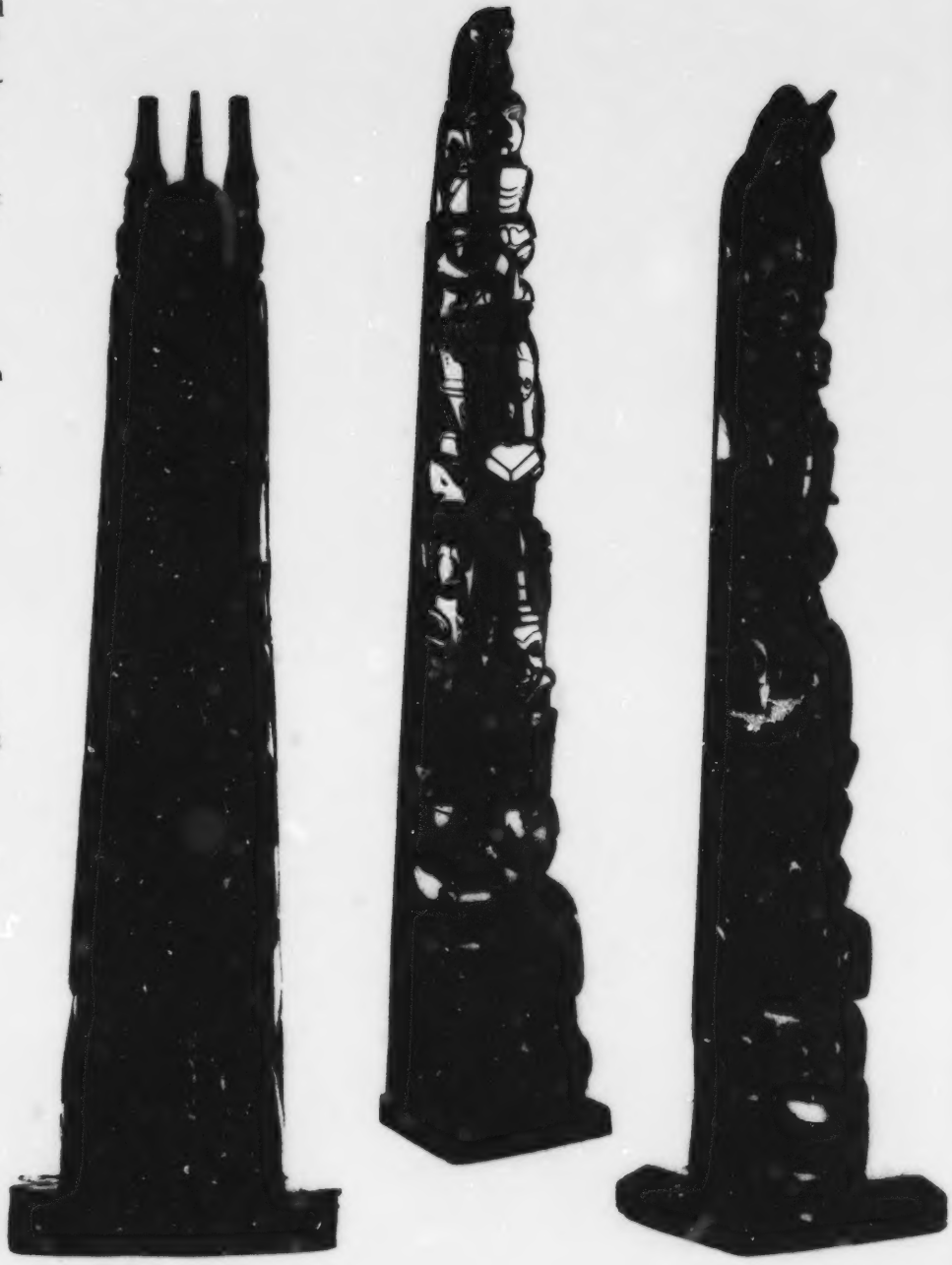


Figure 113
Cat. No. 16157
L. 11cm W. 8.3cm H. 51.2cm

Early totem pole with inlaid abalone details. From the bottom the figures are: a hawk holding a whale in its talons; a raven with a frog in its beak; a bear embracing an upside-down human; and, on top, a shark with a labret. Inlaid details include eyes, wing ovoids, a labret and fins.

Figure 114
Cat. No. 6540
L. 9cm W. 7.3cm H. 49.2cm

Early totem pole featuring eyes inlaid with abalone shell. From the bottom the figures include: a hawk grasping a whale; shark woman with a labret; and a raven topped by an eagle holding a salmon.

Figure 115
Cat. No. 16643
L. 9.3cm W. 8cm H. 55.6cm (without wooden base)

Early totem pole composed of three main figures and numerous secondary ones on a black, wooden, champhered base. The bottom figure depicts Bear Mother suckling her cub. Above her is a raven whose beak holds the hat of a small bird. A frog hangs from either side of the raven's mouth. Above is a bear holding a frog and, on top, a finely detailed eagle. Attributed by the authors to Charles Edensaw.

Figure 116
Cat. No. 16644
L. 14.3cm W. 11.7cm H. 58cm

Early totem pole with a hollow back and a thin, champhered base. From the bottom the figures are: a bear consuming a man; a shark woman wearing a labret; and an eagle above. On top is a bear holding a cub.

Figure 117
Cat. No. 14989
L. 13.5cm W. 10.6cm H. 62.2cm

Early totem pole consisting of, from bottom to top: a bear, with a cub on its head, eating a frog; a raven; another bear; and a beaver chewing on a stick. The base is champhered all around and has a fluted border.

Figure 118
Cat. No. 15723 R
L. 11.2cm W. 11.8cm H. 51.3cm

Early totem pole composed of three main figures. At the bottom there is a bear holding a man, in the middle a sitting man with a bow and arrow and a dog, and, on top, a woman holding a bear cub. The back of the pole is hollowed and the base has a cove molding all around.

Figure 119
Cat. No. 15728 R
L. 7cm W. 6.9cm H. 42.6cm

Early totem pole with a hollow back and a simple base champhered only on the front. The figures include a bear with a seal-like animal emerging from its stomach, a raven, and a bear with a frog under its chin.

Figure 120
Cat. No. 15726 R
L. 10.1cm W. 8.8cm H. 48.2cm

Early totem pole with ivory and abalone inlay. The figure at the bottom is a bear holding two cubs in her forearms with a frog grasping her waist. Above is a raven, the beak and wing of which have been restored somewhat unsuccessfully. Above that is a beaver with a face at the base of its cross-hatched tail. An eagle, grasping a three-ringed cylinder, tops the carving. The base is a replacement.

Figure 121
Cat. No. 15722 R
L. 15.9cm W. 12.7cm H. 53.5cm

Early totem pole of considerable height with a hollow back and a champhered base which is a replacement. The main bottom figure depicts a bear eating a human. On the human's lower body is a killer whale whose right pectoral fin overlaps its dorsal fin. The fluked tail is not clearly visible but projects above the left pectoral. The second major figures appears to be a sea bear swallowing a killer whale while a second whale emerges from under the flukes of the first. The third figure is a female shark topped by a crouching bear.

Figure 122
Cat. No. 7131
L. 8.2cm W. 5.2cm H. 48.4cm

An early totem pole with a hollowed back. The figures include a bear with a sea mammal above, a bird (upper beak missing) holding a young humanoid bird, and, on top, a raven with projecting cylinder.

Figure 123
Cat. No. 15725 R
L. 15.9cm W. 12.8cm H. 70.9cm

Massive early totem pole on a simple base which is a replacement. The iconography of this piece is challenging; the following is a possible interpretation. The bottom figure depicts a personified raven, beneath which is seen a fluked tail. Whether the latter relates to the small whale emerging between the raven's ears, or represents the lower appendage of the bear-like creature above, is uncertain. The bear-like creature is obviously pregnant with a human and features an unusual two-dimensional rendering of a killer whale on either side of its torso. The uppermost figures is a wasco with a frog (?) held in its mouth.

Figure 124
Cat. No. 4785
L. 10.6cm W. 8.2cm H. 41cm

Early totem pole consisting of four main figures and four secondary ones on a smoothly rounded base. From the bottom, the figures include a bear with a cub in each forepaw and a frog placed on its chest, a raven holding a salmon in its beak, a sea wolf (wasco) with tails of both whale and wolf, and, on top, a killer whale with a prominent dorsal fin.

Figure 125
Cat. No. 4786
L. 10.8cm W. 9cm H. 40.8cm

An early totem pole, mate to figure 124, showing similar figures.

15
Chests and Model Houses

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Large chest, Figure 126,
see page 130

In the 1880s, the Haida artists created a great variety of items in argillite, almost all of which were Haida in subject and inspiration. In great part this reflects the profound changes that were taking place in Haida society: the abandonment of once vigorous villages; depopulation; denial of traditional culture and language. It is perhaps ironic that the Haida were encouraged to mark a passing way of life through an artform produced for sale. At this point many of those working in the black slate were familiar with the form of traditional art and as such were able to translate into miniature form some of the great objects of material culture as well as some of the more elusive and abstract expressions such as myth.

In addition to miniature totem poles, which heralded the move to Haida subjects, model houses and chests achieved some prominence between 1880 and 1890. These two types of argillite carving are treated together here because of their essentially similar construction, i.e. four sides with some manner of top and bottom. Another reason for grouping them is because there are relatively few examples in either category and the majority of both seem to have been made contemporaneously by a limited number of artists.

A reasonable extension of the house frontal pole was the house itself; few examples of the latter are known in argillite and perhaps all of them were produced by Charles Edensaw and other artists who came under his direct influence. Models were made in wood as well, commissioned by anthropologists and collectors who wanted to replicate traditional villages on a small scale. Of the few known examples in argillite, the one in the Alaska State Museum serves as a good example. All four sides of the house are decorated as are the roof panels which have sections cut out to indicate the smoke hole (Keithahn 1963:33).

The panel illustrated in figure 127 is obviously one half of a gable roof; the smoke hole is evident in the cut out rectangle. It is decorated with two sea-lions, shown in profile, and incorporates certain design elements developed by Charles Edensaw, including double engraving, cross hatching and parallel hatching. Occuring in combination as they do, these elements exhibit the design preferences of Edensaw and one of his pupils. Additionally the edging demonstrates a decorative device known as a "gadroon" also utilized by Edensaw on platters and chests.

Whatever the authorship of the piece in figure 127, it is part of a small number of model houses produced in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. It is interesting to compare the roof panel described above with the roof panels on the argillite house in the Alaska State Museum, Juneau. In the Juneau example (Keithahn 1963:33), a single sea-lion adorns each panel. Significantly, each is rendered very similarly to the two in figure 127.

Somewhat more common are chests, proportionately based on the traditional decorated storage chest of wood. The similarity between the two can be seen when the front panel of figure 126 is compared with that of figure 8, a typical wooden chest of bent-cornered construction. The key to the connection between the two is the shape of the central formline face, which is similar in both, and the double-eye construction of the eyes of each central formline face.

The argillite example is admittedly more ornate, with feet in the form of frogs, sculptural protuberances on all four sides and of course the narrative grouping on the lid. In one sense, the argillite chest is almost an example of busy Victoriana, clearly reflecting the European decorative art of the period.

The example in this case distinctly exhibits the personal style and imagination of Charles Edensaw, to whom this work is unquestionably attributed. As indicated above, the front panel differs only slightly from that of the wooden "prototype", yet the bears' heads which emerge from either end, the beaver grasping a chewing stick on the back panel, and the "feet" are departures from the traditional chest.

But the real difference is reflected in the elaborate narrative carving on the lid (page 131). Here we see an episode out of the Haida legend describing the birth of mankind. Humans are shown emerging from the cockle shell. Standing atop the shell is Raven displaying both human and avian characteristics. The figure is basically human but the nose has a beak-like quality. Although the appendages of a man are evident, the figure wears a winged cloak and atop the human's shins are the scaley legs and claws of a bird. An avian tail is also evident as is a raven's beak extending out from the stomach of the human figure. In his arms, Raven holds what appears to be a human infant, its eyes closed whether in birth or death cannot be certain. See Hoover (1983) for a detailed analysis of this piece.

As in the case of model houses, there are few chests extant and it appears that Charles Edensaw and a few of his contemporaries produced these in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. An example in the U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution bears the signature "gowtlins", since identified as the Haida name of Charles Edensaw's stepfather-in-law (Holm 1981:192). There are other argillite chest-makers whose style is distinctive enough to categorize although at this point they still remain nameless.

There is good evidence that copies were made of certain chests as is the case of figure 129. The original is a work clearly from the hand of Edensaw (illustrated in Barbeau 1953:308), and now in a private collection. The copy which incorporates most of Edensaw's mannerisms nonetheless lacks the assurance and vitality of the original.

Figure 126
Cat. No. 10622
L. 45.5cm W. 30cm H. 37cm

Large chest mounted on four frog feet. The front panel depicts a bird with recurved beak. Each end panel features a three-dimensional bear. The back panel illustrates a beaver's head. Atop the lid is a sculptural tableau illustrating the Haida myth which tells of the creation of human beings by the culture hero Raven (see Hoover 1983). Attributed to Charles Edensaw.

Figure 127
Cat. No. 13276
L. 39.7cm W. 19.2cm H. .9cm

Half of the roof of a model house with a smoke hole cut out of one edge and decorated with two sea-lions. Attributed to Charles Edensaw.

Figure 128
Cat. No. 15667 R
L. 31.4cm W. 10.7cm H. 2.7cm

Rectangular panel, probably part of a chest. The design, which consists of a bird head with a wing on each side, a man on top and tail and talons at the bottom, is arranged horizontally.

Figure 129
Cat. No. 13528
L. 18.3cm W. 9.8cm H. 15.9cm

Small chest resting on four frog feet. The front panel features an eagle with beak carved in relief. The back panel (not visible) represents a beaver, rendered somewhat similarly to that on figure 126. From each end panel emerges a bear. The sculpture on the lid is a wasco from the mouth of which appears a human. As is typical in renderings of a wasco, a killer whale is held by the wasco's tail while another is placed between its ears.

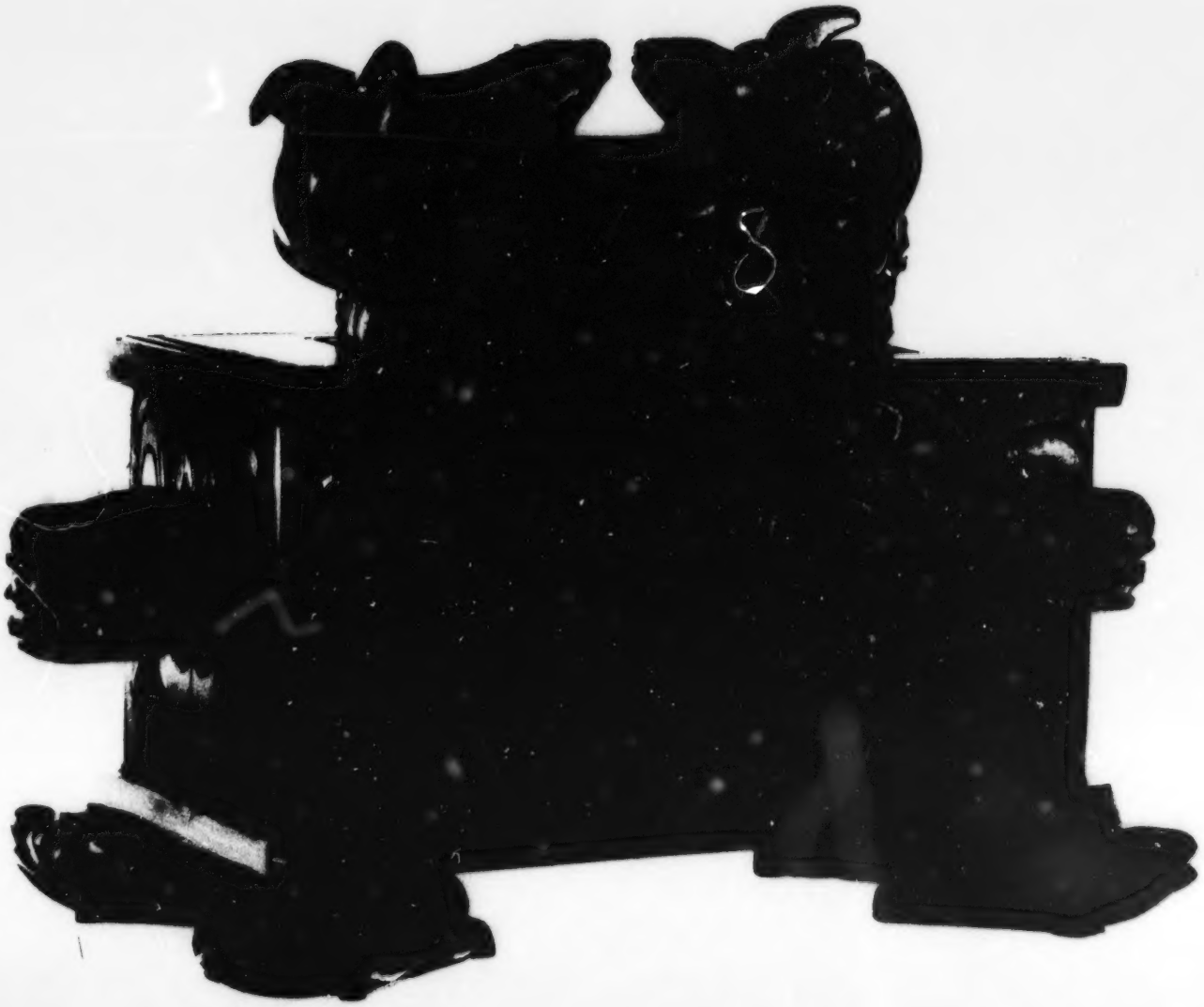


Figure 130
Cat. No. 10623 a-d
L. 6.9cm W. 3.3cm H. 3.8cm

One of four red stone beavers standing on rectangular bases. Their backs have short, round columns scored to provide a glueing surface as are their bases. They were intended as part of a larger work, perhaps a chest.

16
Haida Plates and Platters

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Figure 131
Cat. No. 15071
D. 34cm H. 4.8cm

Haida motif plate depicting a split, bilaterally symmetrical, wasco (sea wolf). The creature is identified by its eared, wolf-like head, its clawed limbs, dorsal fin and curled tail. The presence of the fluked tail is unusual. The design unit between the ears of the wasco probably represents the second dorsal fin. The plate has a flat rim decorated with a narrow band of fluting around its inner edge.

It is interesting that in the Haida revival period we find the reintroduction of old forms but with a change in subject matter. Thus in the 1880s circular plates and oval platters reappear yet they are decorated for the most part with Haida motifs (Fig. 131). The designs may be read as crest figures and are thus a contemporary variation on the traditional feast bowl (Fig. 59) or they may introduce a narrative element (Fig. 137). A reasonable number of artists were creating these forms in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and distinctive Masset and Skidegate schools can be identified. Bone or ivory inlay is not uncommon in this class of objects (Fig. 138), an obvious carry-over from Western tableware.

A few examples indicate clearly that the maker was conscious of the evolution from Euro-American design elements to Haida motifs. Examples such as the underside of figure 138 (the side not illustrated) demonstrate this, incorporating floral elements with formline designs.

Again we must be aware of Edensaw's dominance in this period for there are spectacular narrative illustrations on plates in the Chicago Field Museum of Natural History, the National Museum of Ireland (Drew and Wilsons 1980:206), the Lowie Museum of Anthropology (Duff *et al* 1967:#378) and the Vancouver Museum (catalogue no. AA49) which are undoubtedly his work. A favorite theme of Edensaw's is an episode from the Wasco myth. The creature in question is a wolf who lives under water (either in the sea or a lake). Its salient features include the limbs of the land mammal and a curled, bushy tail but a dorsal fin is added to indicate its under-water association and whales may be found within its mouth, between its ears or encircled by its curled tail.

Figure 134 illustrates a wasco with two whales. The engraving, while rather hastily and simply executed, incorporates a number of Edensaw devices, including double lines, stacked U's and the representation of a backbone by a double line with short parallel hatch marks extending below the lower line. This design is remarkably similar in concept to a line drawing produced by Edensaw and illustrated in Boas (1955:159, Fig. 134).

While Wasco usually appears as a crest figure, in this instance it is best viewed as illustrating an episode from a myth because the drawing was commissioned by an anthropologist and the narrative describing it gives the highlights of the story. Another rendering of the same creature, from the hand of a different artist, is seen in figure 131. Here the design is produced as a bilaterally symmetrical drawing but coincident anatomical elements can be compared with those in figure 134 when only one half of the design is examined in profile.

Figure 132
Cat. No. 15072
D. 37.6cm H. 7.8cm

Haida motif plate. The major figure portrayed is a dogfish, a small species of shark. Its head is shown full face, whereas its body is bilaterally split into two profile halves. The head is identifiable by its raised triangular forehead with three crescentic gill-slit motifs and two flanking circles which represent nostrils. Gill slits are also placed at the outer, lower corners of the eyes. The pectoral fins have elaborate split u-forms along their upper edges which may represent the forward dorsal fin. The long, curving extension on the fins suggests spines. A second fin is folded down over each body profile. The tail is seen at the lower edge of each pectoral fin. A second figure on the dish is a bear represented only by head and clawed fore-paws. The centre of the dish has a compass-drawn circle with a double border. The edge of the design field is separated from the rim by a narrow groove. The rim is embellished with two arcs of parallel fluting and two longer ones of two-dimensional design elements.

Figure 133
Cat. No. 16446
D. 23.5cm H. 2.5cm

Haida motif plate with a narrow flat rim. The concave design field is embellished with a bilaterally symmetrical bird design that exhibits two profile heads. The bird's body is rendered as a circle that is filled, except for a narrow border, with u-shaped, feather motifs.

Figure 134
Cat. No. 15508
L. 27.9cm W. 17.1cm H. 2.2cm

Platter with engraved design of a wasco (sea wolf) carrying one whale between its ears and a second in its curled tail. A thin band of gadrooning, and another of parallel fluting, separate the decorated design field from the rim of the platter. The outer edge of the rim is marked by a gadrooned border. Attributed to Charles Edensaw.

Figure 135
Cat. No. 14610
L. 35.7cm W. 16.5cm H. 4.8cm

Platter with sharply pointed ends. The shallow, concave, inner surface of the artifact has two, elaborate, high relief, bears seated facing each other. The design field is divided longitudinally with an identical, two-dimensional, engraved design in each half. A fluted border separates the decorated area from the platter's rim. A second fluted border marks the outer edge of the rim.

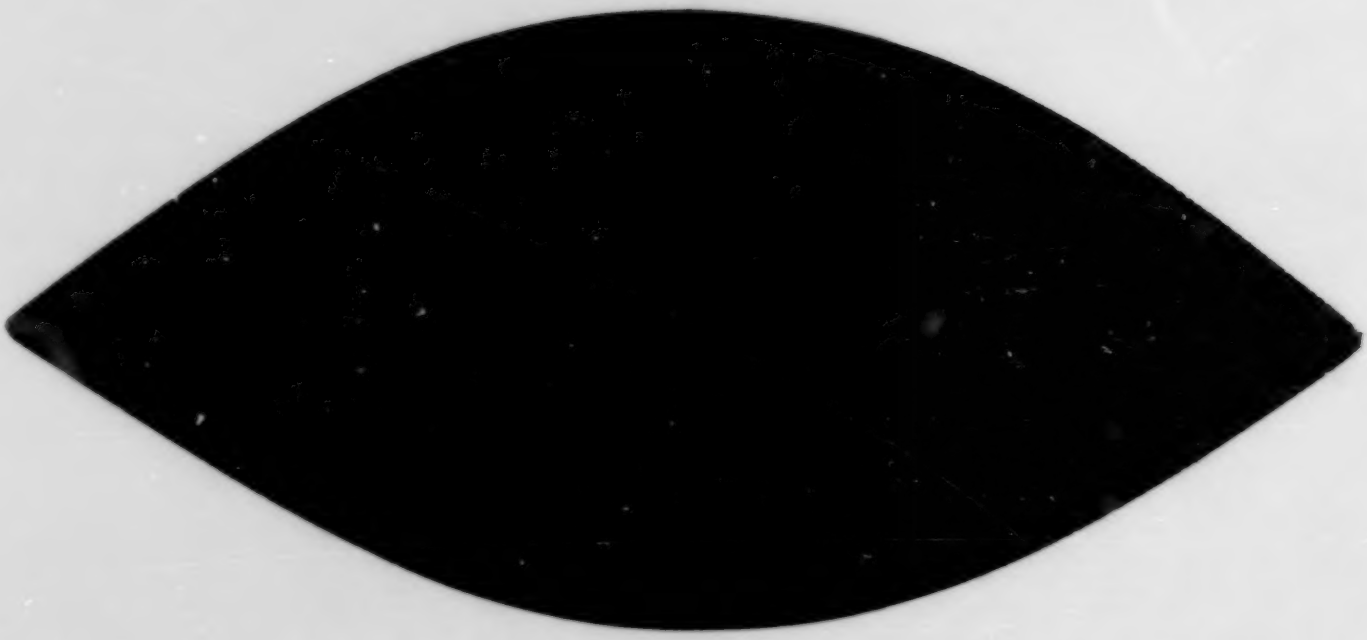
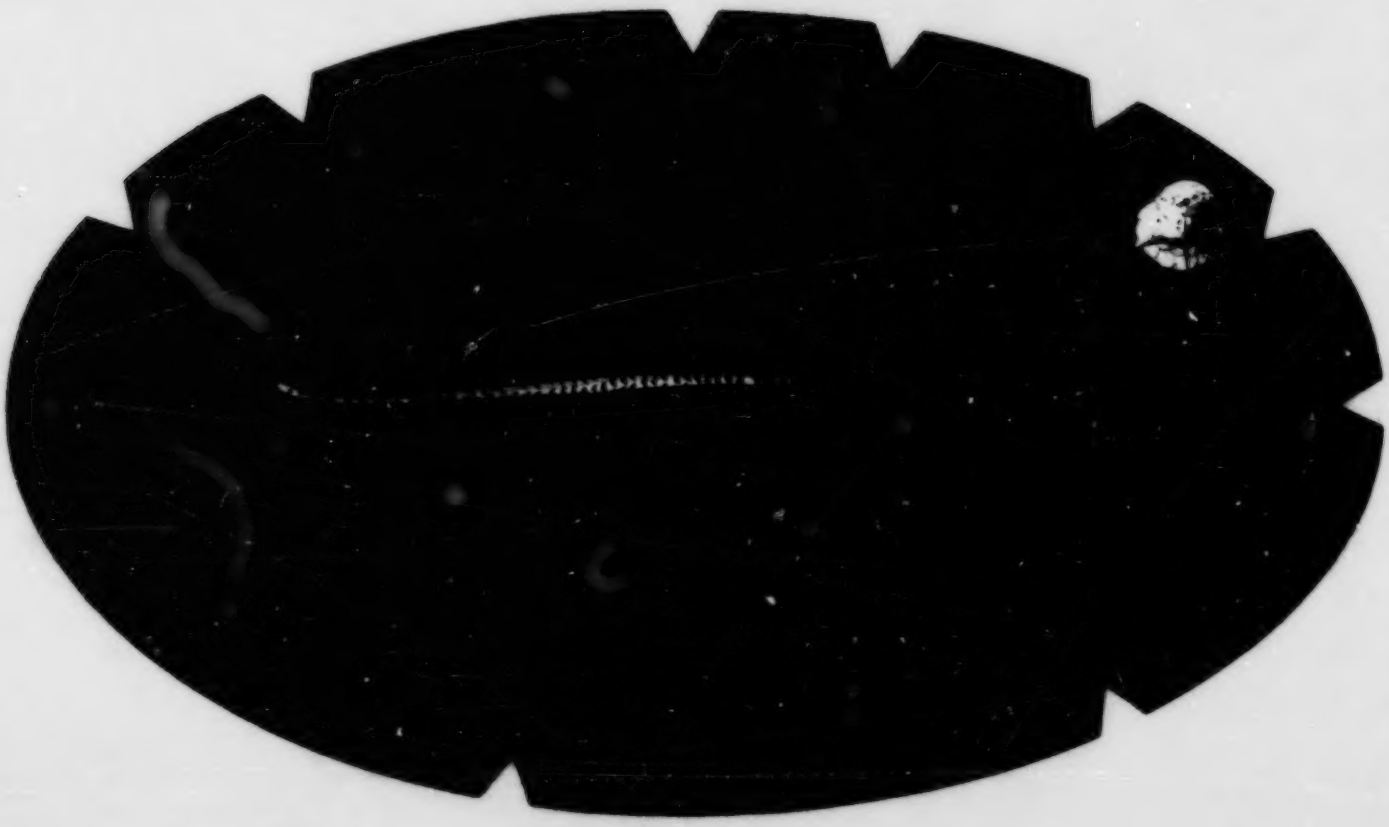


Figure 136
Cat. No. 14578
L. 34cm W. 24cm H. 8.6cm

Haida motif platter with a flat rim decorated with triangular ivory inlays, some of which are missing. The inner edge of the rim is marked with a narrow band of fluting. Along the longitudinal centre line of the upper surface of the platter is a high relief carving of a fish, probably a species of salmon. Emerging from the top of the salmon's head is a profile of a human face with a single bent arm that grasps the right leg of an adult Bald Eagle, the head of which is rendered in ivory. The remaining concave surface of the platter is engraved with Haida-motif, two-dimensional design elements. The design parallel to the lower edge of the salmon has a recognizable head, a clawed, and perhaps finned forefoot, and what appears to be a tail. The head of this animal faces the tail of the salmon. Above the salmon is a design complex of an unidentified creature.



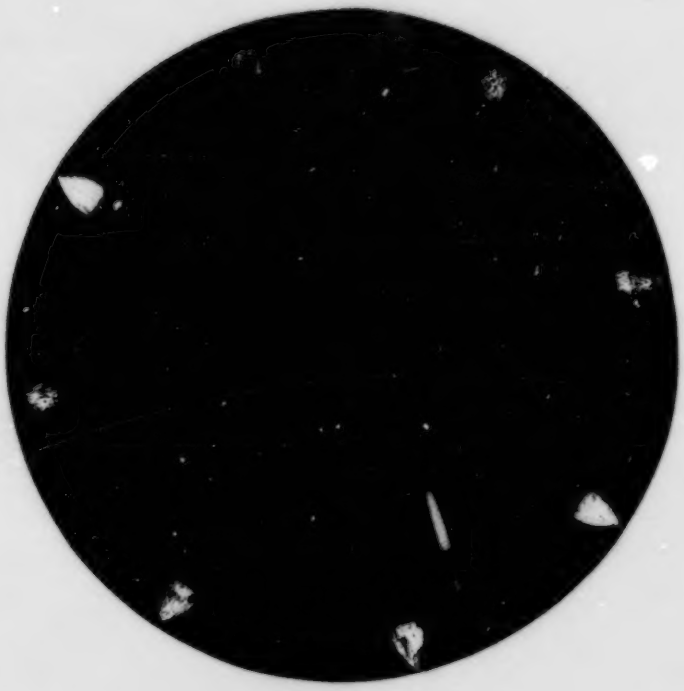


Figure 137
Cat. No. 15745 R
D. 44.9cm H. 5.9cm

Haida motif plate with a wide rim decorated with engraved u-forms and trianguloid ivory inlays. The concave upper face is embellished with engraved designs and carved figures in high relief. Two of the latter are bears that face each other. One has a fish in its mouth. Seen at the top of the illustration is a shaman with one eye closed beating a drum. Directly below this shaman is a creature, probably a whale with five plume-like elements radiating back from the top of its head. The whale has pectoral fins and parallel grooves at the lateral edges of its oval body. On the whale's back is a second shaman with a nose pin, holding a rattle in his right hand. On this shaman's chest, above his left hand, is a triangular projection, probably the whale's dorsal fin. Facing the second shaman is a third holding an ivory implement in his right hand. This third shaman's left hand rests on the left side of another triangular projection, perhaps the whale's tail. At the left side of the illustration is a bilaterally split image producing two animal heads in profile. This creature's clawed legs are seen to the right in the illustration.

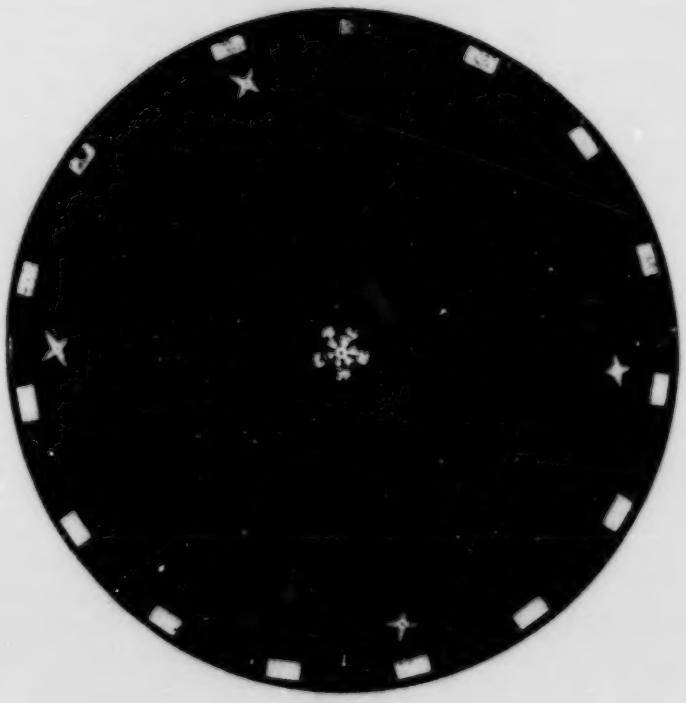


Figure 138
Cat. No. 14700
D. 36.1cm H. 4.7cm

Haida motif plate with a flat rim inlaid with ivory rectangles. The convex surface is decorated with four figures, two bears and two eagles in high relief. Four areas of engraved, two-dimensional, design elements separate the carved figures. Near the head of each figure is an inlaid, four-pointed, ivory star. The centre has a flower-shaped ivory boss. The convex surface of the underside (not illustrated) of the plate is decorated with Euro-American floral and traditional Haida design elements.

Figure 139
Cat. No. 15708 R
D. 19cm H. 2.8cm

Haida motif plate. The flat rim has a rope motif around its inner edge and a single, engraved, parallel line along its outer edge. The major design units engraved on the concave surface of the plate are four ovoids with salmon-trout's-head, inner ovoids, and complex u-forms attached to their anterior ends. These four ovoids are separated at their posterior ends by two u-forms. The remaining diamond-shaped area within the lower edges of the four ovoids is filled by eight, complex, u-forms and, at the centre, by a geometric rosette on a Maltese cross-like ground of contrasting areas of single hatching.

17
Haida Figures and Figure Groups

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Figure 140
Cat. No. 15715 R
L. 23.5cm W. 8.3cm H. 23.4cm

Haida figure group composed of three human figures and a bear. The largest figure is a standing shaman wearing a whale headdress and a nose ornament and shaking a globular rattle. Beside him another figure holds a large bear in his arms. Laying across the base, at their feet, is the third figure.

The vertical Euro-American figure finds a counterpart in the Haida revival period. At this time we find images of chiefs and shamans standing upright in the manner of their prototypes. Yet the body proportions differ considerably between the two. The Haida figures evince a proportion of head to body in a ratio of approximately 1:2 (Figure 142); a greater difference than is usually found on monumental totem pole sculpture but not nearly as elongate as the Euro-American examples. In the figures depicting Haida subjects, we detect a change in attitude to traditional nobility and shamans; rarely are either represented in traditional sculpture yet they dominate this category of carving. Again, about 1880 seems to be the date at which such carvings begin to appear.

Closely allied to the vertical Haida figures are figure groups which incorporate a number of creatures, both human and animal. Some may be groupings of shamans (Fig. 140) and are thus directly related to the single shaman figures. Others are more complicated and appear to illustrate incidents from major Haida myths. The story which prevails in many of these carvings is the Bear Mother myth which is significant enough to warrant an abbreviated recounting.

Legend has it that a number of women were out picking berries when one of the group, a young noblewoman, inadvertently stepped in some bear dung. This angered her and she cursed the bears as a result. Shortly thereafter she became separated from her companions and met a young man who persuaded her to follow him to his village. Upon reaching it, he turned into a bear. He took the woman as his wife and in time she gave birth to a child, or as in some accounts, twins. These half human, half bear offspring suckled her voraciously. Her agony is best reflected in a carving in the U.S. National Museum (cat. no. 73,117); another less-tortured but nonetheless expressive example is seen in figure 171. Generally she was unhappy in the company of the bears although she developed a protective attitude to her children.

According to one account, her brother eventually arrived on the scene, accompanied by his dog, and was able to rescue her from captivity. This particular incident is graphically rendered in figure 141 which shows the hunter driving his spear into the bear-husband who embraces his human wife.

Many other figure groups from this period incorporate incidents from this significant myth. Figure 171 shows the bear mother, herself almost completely transformed into a bear, nursing her offspring. Others are replete with bears and humans (Figs. 160, 162); and in some, such as figure 158, the seduction of the bear mother is graphically illustrated.

Sculptures from this period indicate that Haida attitudes to the presentation of myth are changing because these carvings illustrate, openly and rather explicitly, events of the mythical past in a manner rarely presented in a traditional context. Denied an outward expression of their complex family histories, it is ironic that the Haida were encouraged to convert aspects of their culture into a marketable product fully sanctioned by those civic and religious authorities who were otherwise denying ceremonial and ritual expressions of traditional culture.

Certain of the figure groups incorporate such a confusion of characters that specific myths or episodes from these cannot be related to the carving. In some cases the figure groups may have been intended as no more than an amalgam of figures as is suggested by figure 159.

While some figure groups, such as that in figure 141, evince a tremendous vitality and vigorous movement, others are stiff and uninspired (Fig. 162), indicating a new generation of carvers on the scene. One suspects they had little reference to traditional objects, the practice of producing these being denied by civil and religious authorities. Others might have been men well versed in traditional lifeways but who had no training as artists. In difficult economic and social times, they probably turned to the medium of slate in an attempt to supplement their incomes.

Figure 141
Cat. No. 248
L. 25.5cm W. 8.7cm H. 34.7cm

Haida figure group based on the Bear Mother myth. It shows a man killing the bear with a spear and rescuing his sister. The bear is embracing the woman while the hunter's dog is biting his leg and the bear-child is holding the hunter's feet. The group was collected at Skidegate and given to the Museum in 1889 by the Skidegate Oil Company.

Figure 142
Cat. No. 16154
L. 9.1cm W. 7cm H. 30.8cm

Haida figure representing a shaman with an ivory or bone rattle in each hand. He is wearing a fringed cape and apron with formline design as well as a fringed neck ring and a headdress with an ovoid and split u-form on each side. He stands looking straight ahead with his elbows at his sides.

Figure 143
Cat. No. 15717 R
L. 8.5cm W. 6.8cm H. 25.7cm

Haida figure representing a shaman with a globular rattle in one hand and an ivory wand in the other. He wears a fringed apron decorated with ovoids and a rope-like neck ring with feather-shaped pendants. His hair is partially tied up. In addition he has an ivory nose ornament.

Figure 144
Cat. No. 15720 R
L. 7.1cm W. 6.2cm H. 16.4cm

Haida figure showing a seated shaman with a globular rattle and fringed apron. He has long hair and a headdress. Both arms are raised.

Figure 145
Cat. No. 15734 R
L. 8.9cm W. 7.5cm H. 19.2cm

Haida figure with an ivory face, shown squatting and holding a staff with both hands. Except for the hat, which is a replacement, no clothing details are shown.

Figure 146
Cat. No. 8417
L. 8.2cm W. 7.5cm H. 17cm

Haida figure of a sea bear with a whale between his legs and a bear cub on top of his head. Not visible are two holes on the creature's back which once probably held dorsal fins.

Figure 147
Cat. No. 8054
L. 6.9cm W. 4.9cm H. 16cm

Haida figure showing a kneeling man with his chin resting on a staff. He wears a cloak with a cross-hatched border and a three-ringed hat. Notable are the claw-like feet. Attributed to Charles Edensaw.

Figure 148
Cat. No. 8055
L. 6.8cm W. 5.8cm H. 16.6cm

Haida figure of a kneeling woman wearing a truncated, conical hat and feathered ear ornaments. Two undecorated wings are attached to her upper body by a harness-like device that is an extension of the wings. This motif curves around the figure's neck, down the middle of her chest and back around her waist. (These wings are similar to those worn by actors portraying angels in Christian pagents.) Emerging (not illustrated) from beneath the inside edge of each wing on the woman's upper back are feathers. A feathered tail (not illustrated) splits the central back of the figure's dress. The woman's hands hold a bird's head that sits on, or protrudes from, her abdomen. A wing flanks each side of the bird's head and unembellished feather motifs appear between the lower ends of the wings. It is not clear whether the woman is sitting astride the bird or giving birth to it. The late Wilson Duff (in conversation) referred to this image as "Mary" and figure 147 as "Joseph." He speculated that the two were a pair and were created by Charles Edensaw as a statement that noted the parallels between the Christian myth of the virgin birth of Christ and the Northwest Coast tradition which recounts that Raven "was born before this world was known" (Swanton 1909:10) and indeed "existed before he was born" (Krause 1956:183).

Figure 150
Cat. No. 10629
L. 9.4cm W. 5.3cm H. 8.3cm

Haida carving showing a recumbent human with an ivory cup glued to his stomach. The cup, oval in cross section, has a beaver head on one end and a human face on the other. Attributed to Charles Edensaw.

Figure 149
Cat. No. 10625
L. 18.3cm W. 4.8cm H. 6.4cm

Haida figure consisting of a whale with a raven in its mouth. This sculpture may refer to the mythic episode in which Raven was swallowed by a whale (Swanton 1905a: 145). The carving is attributed to Charles Edensaw.

Figure 151
Cat. No. 15736 R
L. 8.5cm W. 7cm H. 7.1cm

Haida figure group in red stone consisting of an eagle above a creature's head. The eagle is shown in a naturalistic style with considerable feather detail on the outstretched wings and tail.

Figure 152
Cat. No. 10624 a,b
L. 15.2cm W. 8.3cm H. 6.7cm

Pair of wolf-like creatures with curled tails and round columns on their backs meant perhaps as bases for candle holders.

Figure 153
Cat. No. 15687 R
L. 9.2cm W. 4.7cm H. 6.9cm

Haida figure said to represent a sphinx.

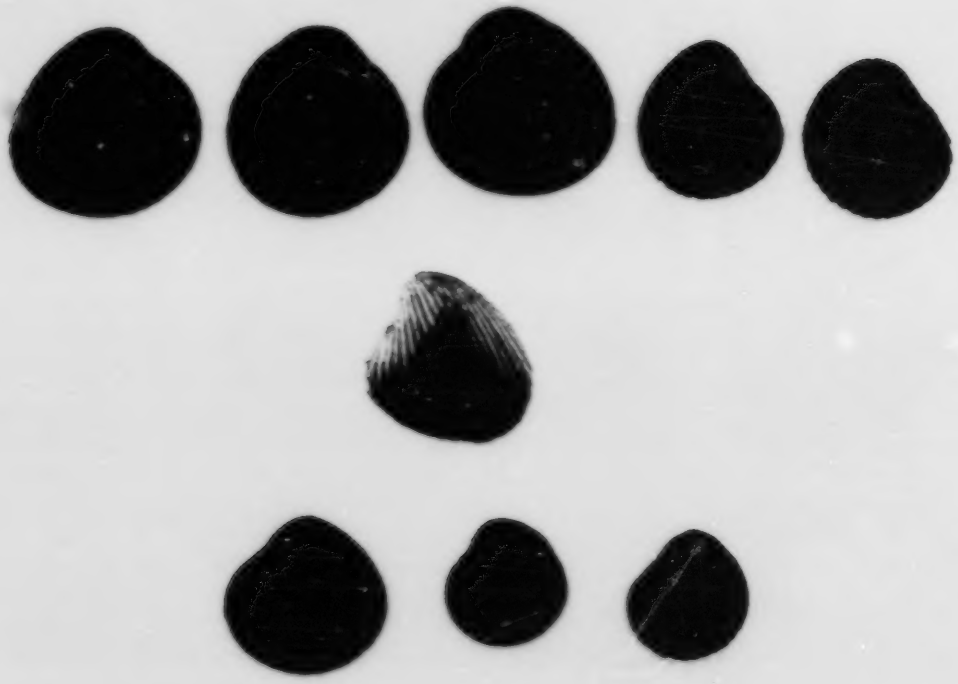


Figure 154
Cat. No. 10626 a-e, 10627 a-c, 10628
L. 4.9cm W. 4.8cm H. 3.6cm (largest)
L. 3.0cm W. 2.8cm H. 1.7cm (smallest)

Artifacts representing realistically carved cockle shells in argillite (top), red 'argillite' (bottom) and ivory (middle).

Figure 155
Cat. No. 15714 R
L. 24cm W. 6.3cm H. 31cm

Haida figure group consisting of three shamans. The central figure wears an apron, a necklace and holds a globular rattle. The two half figures are less detailed but each holds a globular rattle.

Figure 156
Cat. No. 14807
L. 6.3cm W. 6cm H. 22.1cm

Haida figure representing a shaman with braided and elaborately coiffured hair, necklace of charms, and an apron decorated with formline designs. One hand holds a plain bone rattle, the other a broken bone object probably representing a charm. There is also a bone hair ornament.

Figure 157
Cat. No. 15680 R
L. 22.3cm W. 5.5cm H. 10cm

Haida figure group carved from grey stone and composed of a large reclining shaman with a smaller human on each side and a bear at his feet. One of the shaman's hands is drilled as if to hold something.

Figure 158
Cat. No. 10443
L. 23cm W. 6.8cm H. 21.5cm

A Haida figure group composed of two adult bears, one biting a fish, two cubs and two humans all on an oval, stippled base.

Figure 159
Cat. No. 12927
L. 32cm W. 6.2cm H. 16.8cm

Haida figure group composed of nearly two dozen figures, some represented only by heads. The work of a minor artist, this piece is difficult to interpret.

Figure 160
Cat. No. 15733 R
L. 22.8cm W. 14.9cm H. 4.9cm

Haida figure group composed of two bears and eight humans.

Figure 161
Cat. No. 15730 R
L. 20.5cm W. 4.6cm H. 14.2cm

Haida figure group. At left is a bear's head that grasps a seal-like creature in its mouth. On top of the bear's head is a humanoid head with a crown composed of u-forms. The humanoid's chin touches the head of an octopus whose tentacles curve down to the large bear's shoulders. Facing the octopus is a seated bear. Draped across the sculpture is a whale whose head alone can be seen. The last figure is a bear crouching on a sea mammal.

Figure 162
Cat. No. 8375
L. 22.9cm W. 4.8cm H. 15cm

Haida figure group showing three humans, three bears and one raven, which probably represent episodes from the Bear Mother myth.

Figure 163
Cat. No. 15731 R
L. 22.1cm W. 7.7cm H. 14.5cm

Haida figure group of symmetrical form composed of three figures on a rectangular base with champhered and fluted edges. In the middle there is a squatting human flanked by two bears.

Figure 164
Cat. No. 15742 R
L. 14.4cm W. 6.2cm H. 12.1cm

Haida figure group carved from a purplish-brown, mottled stone. The figure at left is a shaman with a headdress, nose pin, necklace and apron. He crouches on a bear which is supine. At the top of the sculpture is a bear with forepaws, whose large upper teeth rest on the head of a human at the extreme right. The latter has flexed legs, crossed hands and wears a stippled waist band. Between the two humans, facing the viewer, is a bear with its left hand crossed in front of its body, touching its right arm just above the elbow. On the opposite side of the sculpture (not visible) is a bear-like animal with three oval depressions along the line of its spine.

Figure 165
Cat. No. 15718 R
L. 35cm W. 7.8cm H. 15.7cm

Haida figure group composed of a canoe containing seven figures. Each side of the canoe has five rectangular pieces of ivory set into the gunwale. Below each gunwale are two engraved killer whales with double dorsal fins. A shaman with nose pin, necklace and elaborate headdress, sits in the rear of the canoe holding a rope in one hand and a rattle in the other. An ivory projectile is held under his right, upper arm. In front of the shaman a human sits sideways, beating a drum (not visible) which is placed on the stomach of a reclining human. The next figure is a female human with a labret, headdress and long cape who is sitting crossways in the canoe facing in the opposite direction to the drummer. She holds a reclining human that has a barbed projectile in his right hand. Two human heads, one behind the female's back, the other behind the drummer, peer out over the gunwales of the canoe. The last figure is a human male, head up, looking over the bow of the canoe. He appears to be crouched over a box.

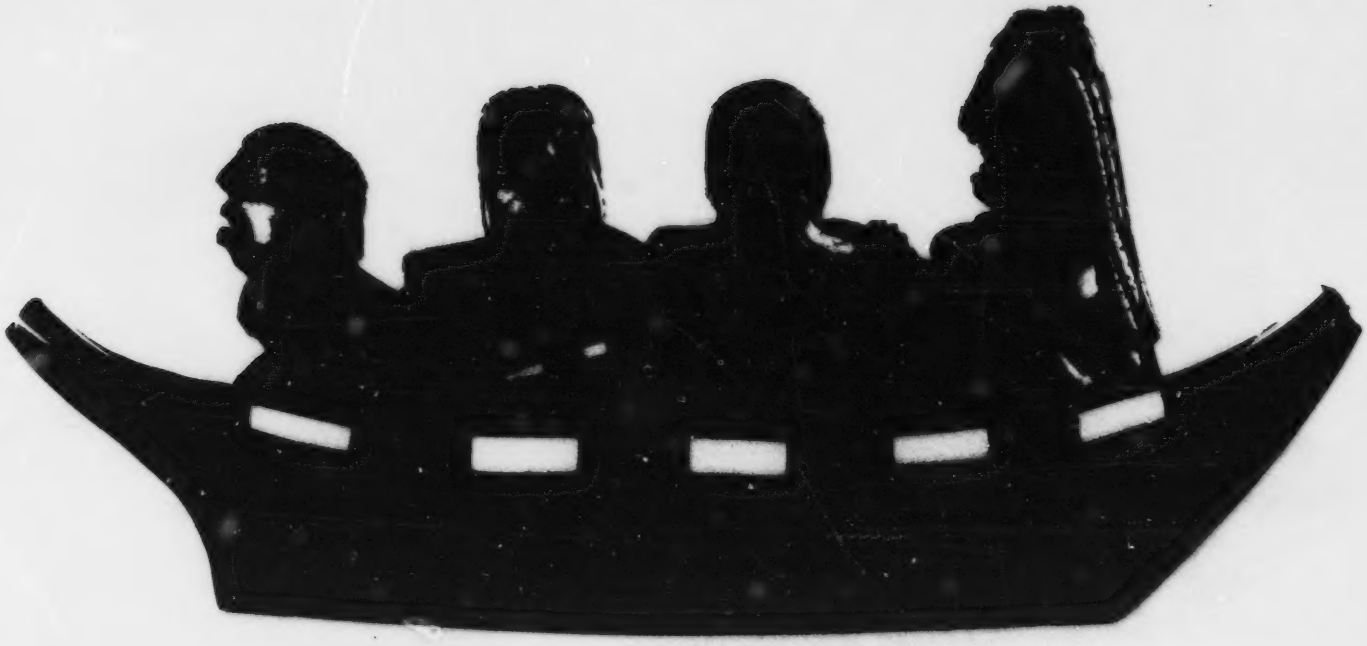


Figure 166
Cat. No. 15740 R
L. 7.5cm W. 7.2cm H. 12.2cm

Haida candlestick composed of two figures, back to back, on a square base with rounded corners. The figures are a shark and a hawk. The edge of the candle socket is fluted.

Figure 167
Cat. No. 15741 R
L. 7.3cm W. 7cm H. 12.4cm

Haida candlestick composed of two figures, back to back, on a square base with rounded corners. The figures are a bear (not shown) and a beaver, both seated. The beaver holds a three-sectioned stick in his forepaws.

Figure 168
Cat. No. 8454
L. 6.2cm W. 6cm H. 14.5cm

Haida candlestick on a square base with rounded corners. Two-dimensional decoration consists of a bird on one side and a shark (illustrated) on the other.

Figure 169
Cat. No. 8453
L. 6cm W. 6cm H. 14cm

Haida candlestick composed of two animals standing, back-to-back, with a candle socket on top of their heads. The base is square with rounded corners. Both animals appear to be bears; the one illustrated holds a man.

Figure 170
Cat. No. 13225
L. 7cm W. 6.5cm H. 11.7cm

A Haida figure group showing two sea-lions locked in combat. The style is naturalistic except for a large, split u-form on the back of each. The stone shows prominent amber veining in the neck area of the animals.

Figure 171
Cat. No. 7961
L. 15.6cm W. 8.5cm H. 7cm

Haida figure group composed of Bear Mother lying on her back suckling a single cub. Her body and face are human-like but the ears are animal and only the face is free of fur. She lies on a cushion-like box and wears a labret.

Figure 172
Cat. No. 15675 R
L. 21cm W. 8.3cm H. 5.3cm

Haida figure group showing a crab attacking a raven (see Swanton 1905a:128).

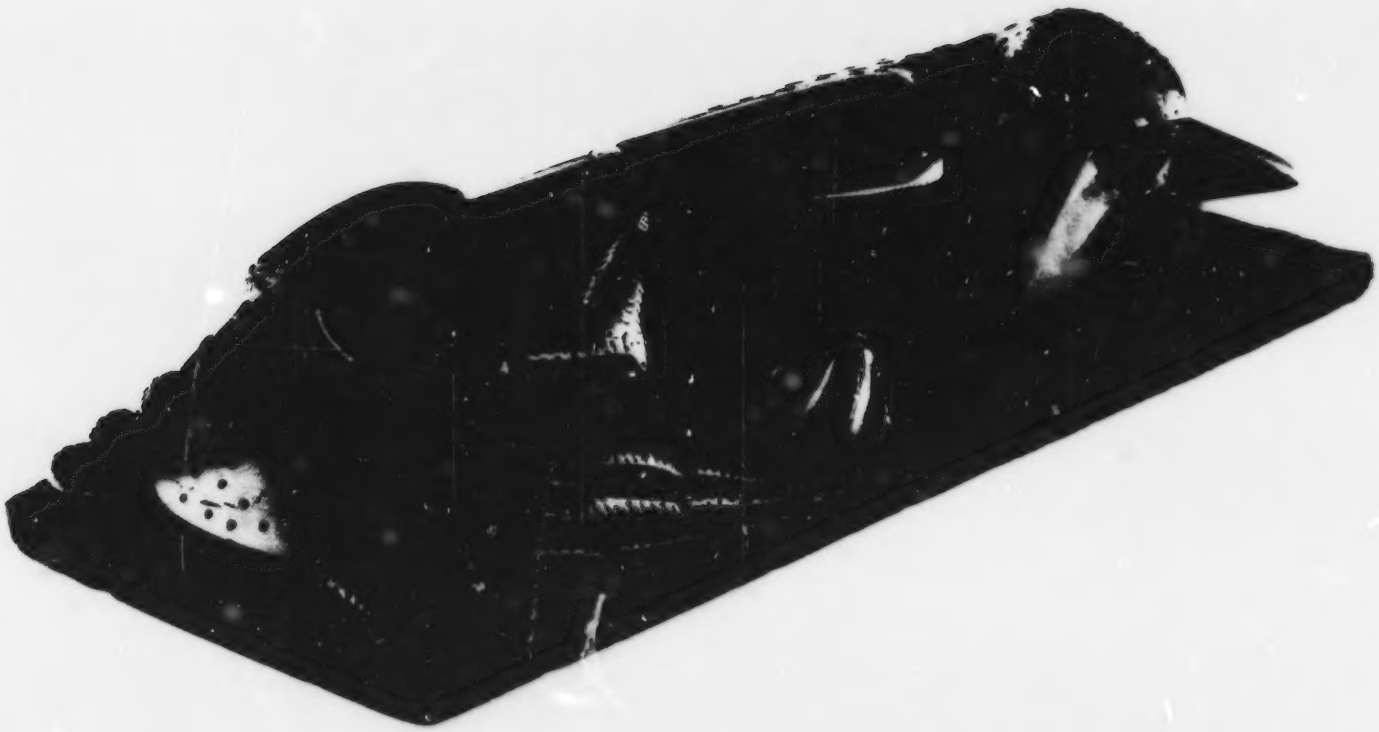


Figure 173
Cat. No. 15666 R
L. 4.2cm W. 4cm H. 9.1cm

Small Haida figure made up of a seated adult holding a child on its knees. The main figure has an ivory face, elaborate coiffure and a short feather cape.

Figure 174
Cat. No. 15663 R
L. 7.1cm W. 3.9cm H. 11.5cm

Haida figure group of a woman with a child. The woman, with ivory face and long hair, is wearing a wide, coat-like garment. She holds a box in one hand. The other hand is on the shoulder of the child who is wearing a cape suggestive of a ceremonial button blanket.

18
Late Trade Pipes

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Figure 175
Cat. No. 10889
L. 30.5cm W. 2.5cm H. 7cm

Late trade pipe with an undrilled stem. The bowl is drilled but the hole, in error, came through the side. The figures (from right to left) are a shark, a woman wearing a labret (forming the bowl), and an eagle.

The final appearance of the trade pipe form also dates from the 1880s. In one sense it is part of a continuum that started in mid-century but there are enough differences between those produced at either end to warrant two categories. Late trade pipes continue to reflect the clay pipe form with human head bowl the norm. However, the features of the Euro-American face became softened in this period and much less sharply defined. The stem thickens, losing the balanced grace of early examples which so assiduously reflected their clay prototypes.

The images on the stems, which were so often of Euro-American subjects in the mid-century examples, are by this time almost exclusively of Haida origin. And as the decade 1890 was approached, the overall execution of the late trade pipe became increasingly clumsy and cumbersome.

An example typical of the late trade pipe category is seen in figure 182, which retains the human face on the bowl but which incorporates elements out of the Bear Mother myth as depicted by figures atop the stem. Conflict between humans and animals is common on such pipes as confirmed by examples seen in figures 176, 177, 178, 179.

In some cases, the distal figure does not function as the bowl (Figs. 180, 181), nor does it represent a human (Figs. 176, 177, 186). In others an entire human figure, rather than a lone head, is represented in the bowl (Fig. 180). So in the late trade pipes we discover an emphasis on Haida subject matter.

Figure 176
Cat. No. 6850
L. 30.9cm W. 2cm H. 6.7cm

Late trade pipe with a bone or ivory mouthpiece. The figures (from left to right) are: a bird head; a decapitated, seated human with his head in his arms; and two bear-like creatures, one of which has a human face.

Figure 177
Cat. No. 10978
L. 27.8cm W. 2.3cm H. 6.3cm

Late trade pipe with an ivory or bone mouthpiece. From right to left the figures are a human, held by a bear, and another human facing an owl-like bird. The figure facing the bird wears an apron and has a topknot hair style.

Figure 178
Cat. No. 10979
L. 28.5cm W. 3cm H. 7.5cm

Late trade pipe composed of four figures and an ivory mouthpiece. From right to left are a human (whose mouth forms the bowl) struggling with a seal and another human embraced by a bear.

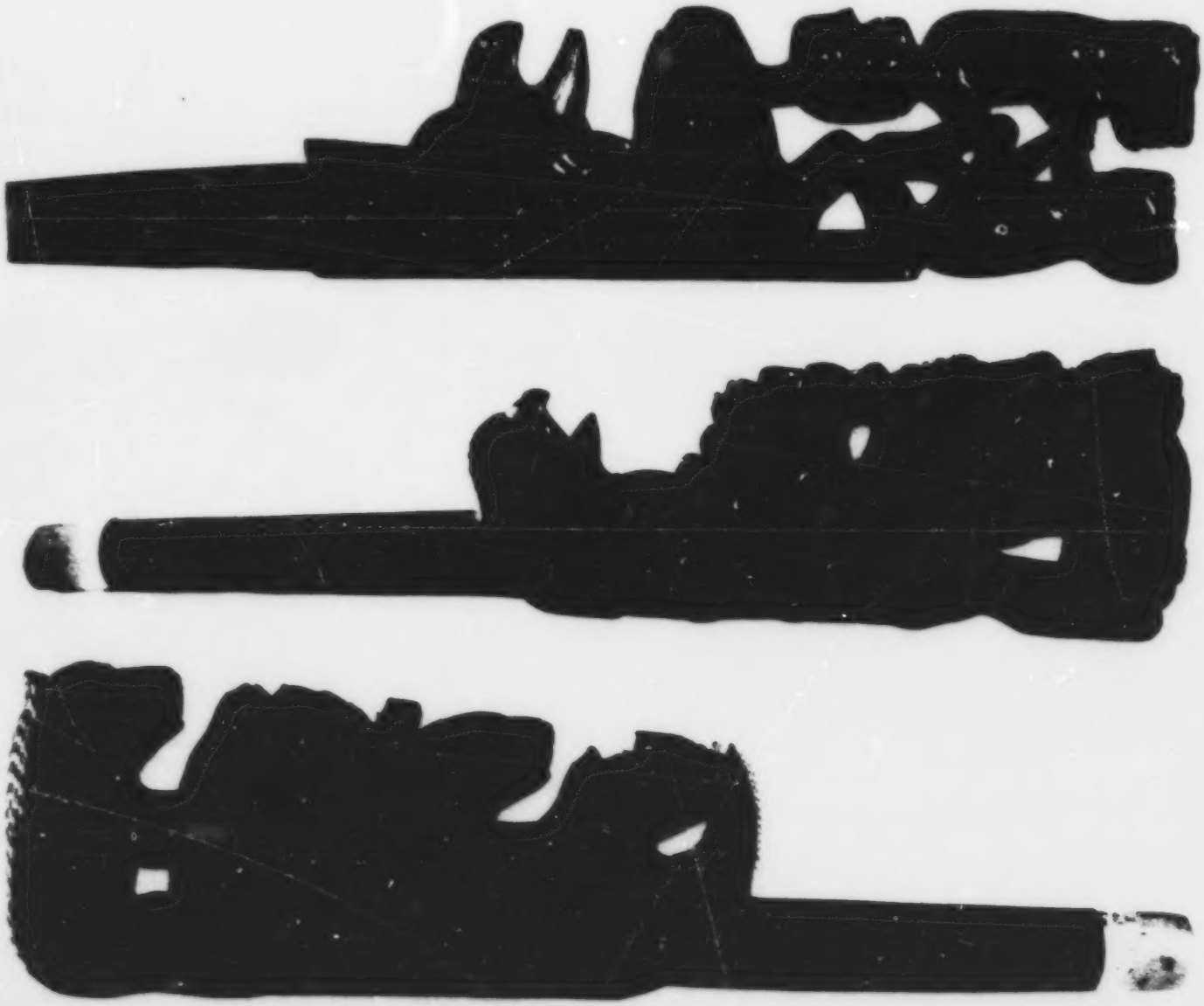


Figure 179
Cat. No. 10908
L. 22.2cm W. 3.5cm H. 6.3cm

Late trade pipe with a human face on the bowl. From right to left the figures are a bear (teeth uncarved) and a woman being seduced by a bear.

Figure 180
Cat. No. 15677 R
L. 18.3cm W. 2.2cm H. 6.6cm

Late trade pipe composed of three figures, the bowl concealed in the middle one, and a plain stem. The figures (from right to left) are a bear grappling with a seated human whose back is turned to an eagle.

Figure 181
Cat. No. 15799
L. 22.5cm W. 2.6cm H. 8cm

Late trade pipe with an ivory mouthpiece and decoration consisting of three figures. From right to left these include a human, a bear and an eagle. The separate bowl is cylindrical and decorated with notched lines.

Figure 182
Cat. No. 15670 R
L. 25.6cm W. 2.7cm H. 7.5cm

Late trade pipe with a bowl in the form of a human head, and three figures (two bears and a human) carved on the stem. These include two bears seducing a human.

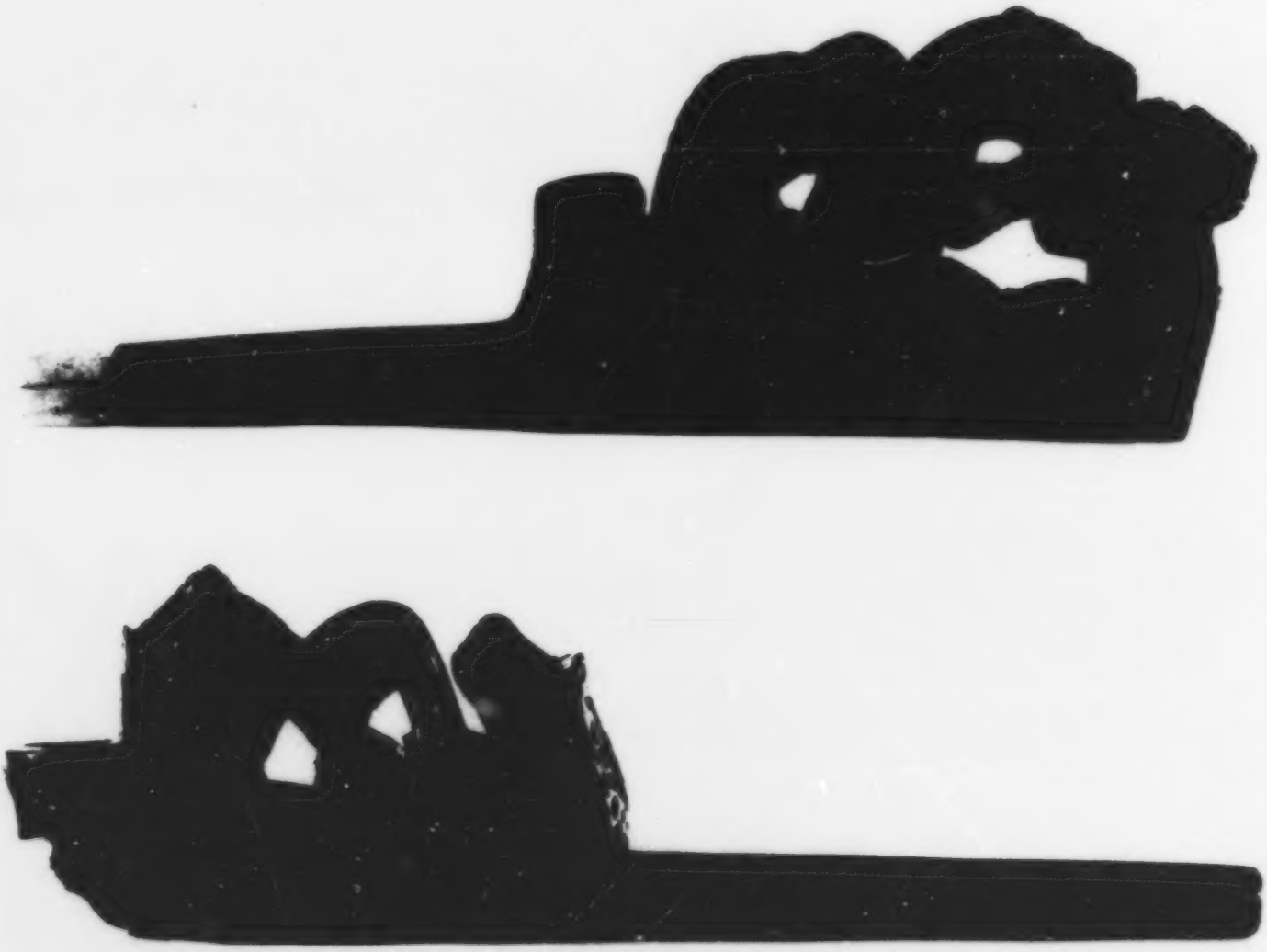


Figure 183
Cat. No. 15649 R
L. 25cm W. 2.5cm H. 7.4cm

Late trade pipe with three figures on the stem immediately to the rear of the bowl which is carved in the form of a man's head. From right to left the figures are a human with his back to a raven who faces a man wearing an apron and a ringed hat.

Figure 184
Cat. No. 15664 R
L. 28.3cm W. 2.2cm H. 7.7cm

Late trade pipe with four figures and an ivory mouthpiece. From right to left the figures are a raven, a bear and two humans. The last figure's body is stippled as to represent fur. It is holding a plain, cylindrical bowl.

Figure 185
Cat. No. 15671 R
L. 24cm W. 3.1cm H. 4.8cm

Late trade pipe with the bowl carved in the form of a human head. From right to left on the stem are a human, a fish, and a sea creature which seems to be half whale, half octopus.

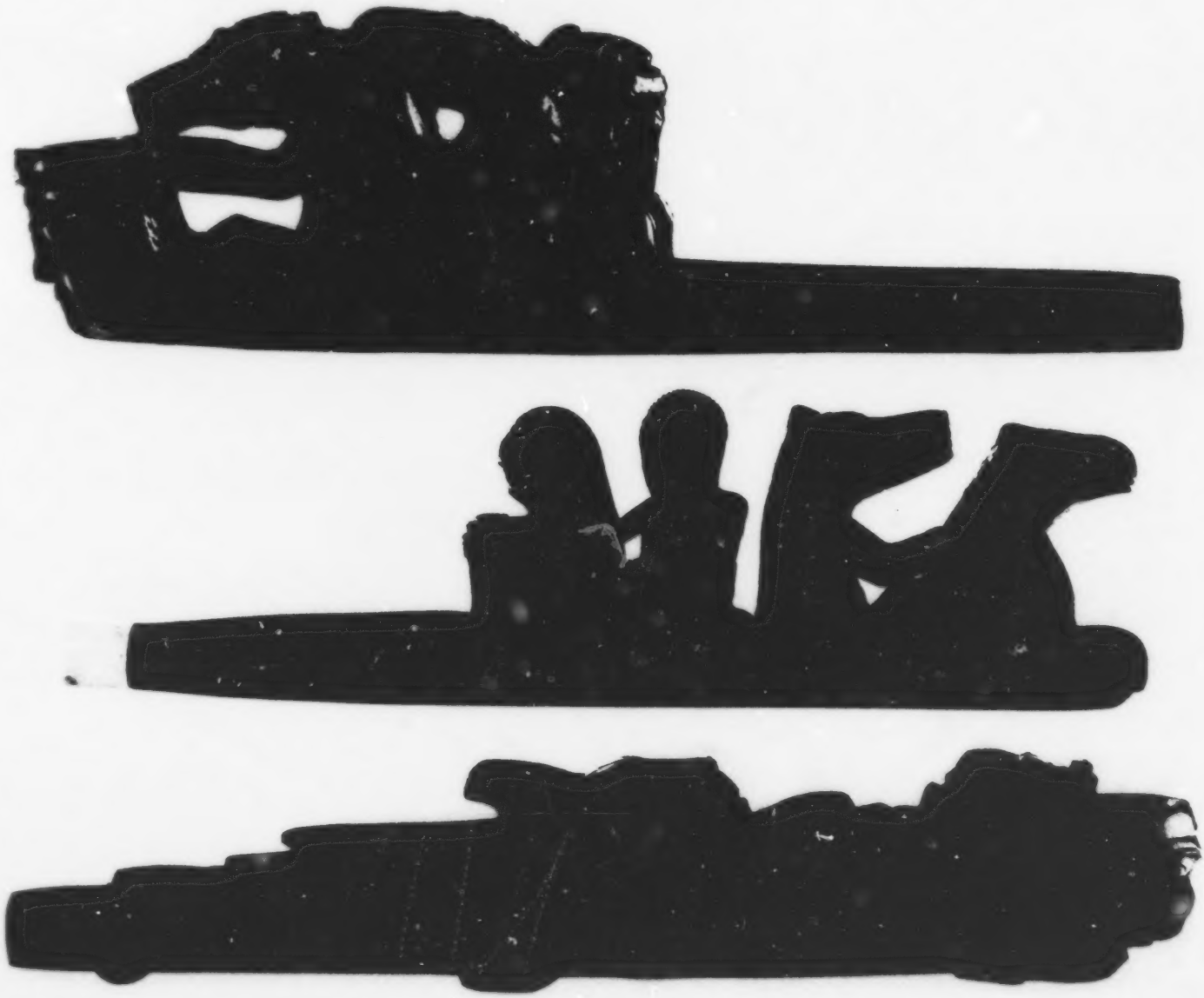


Figure 186
Cat. No. 15681 R
L. 26.2cm W. 2.7cm H. 6.8cm

Late trade pipe composed of five figures with an ivory mouthpiece. From right to left the figures are a winged human with staff and a circular rattle, a seal, an eagle, another winged human, and a fish whose mouth forms the bowl.

Figure 187
Cat. No. 15682 R
L. 32.3cm W. 2.6cm H. 6.1cm

Late trade pipe of particularly long and heavy form. From right to left the figures include a human (whose mouth forms the bowl) holding the dorsal fin of a killer whale, and a raven whose wings are held by the pincers of a crab.

Figure 188
Cat. No. 15674 R
L. 21.1cm W. 2.5cm H. 6.6cm

Late trade pipe with (except for a fluted ring near the top) a plain bowl. The stem has two seated bears facing each other immediately behind the bowl. Although the bowl is hollowed, the stem is not drilled.

Figure 189
Cat. No. 15672 R
L. 19.3cm W. 3.2cm H. 4.8cm

Late trade pipe with a bowl in the shape of a human head with two figures on the stem. From right to left they are a seal-like creature and a raven.

Figure 190
Cat. No. 10521
L. 32.4cm W. 2.2cm H. 6.2cm

Late trade pipe with a human head on the bowl and a wasco, or sea wolf, on the stem. The wasco holds three whales, one in his mouth, one over his back and one in his tail.

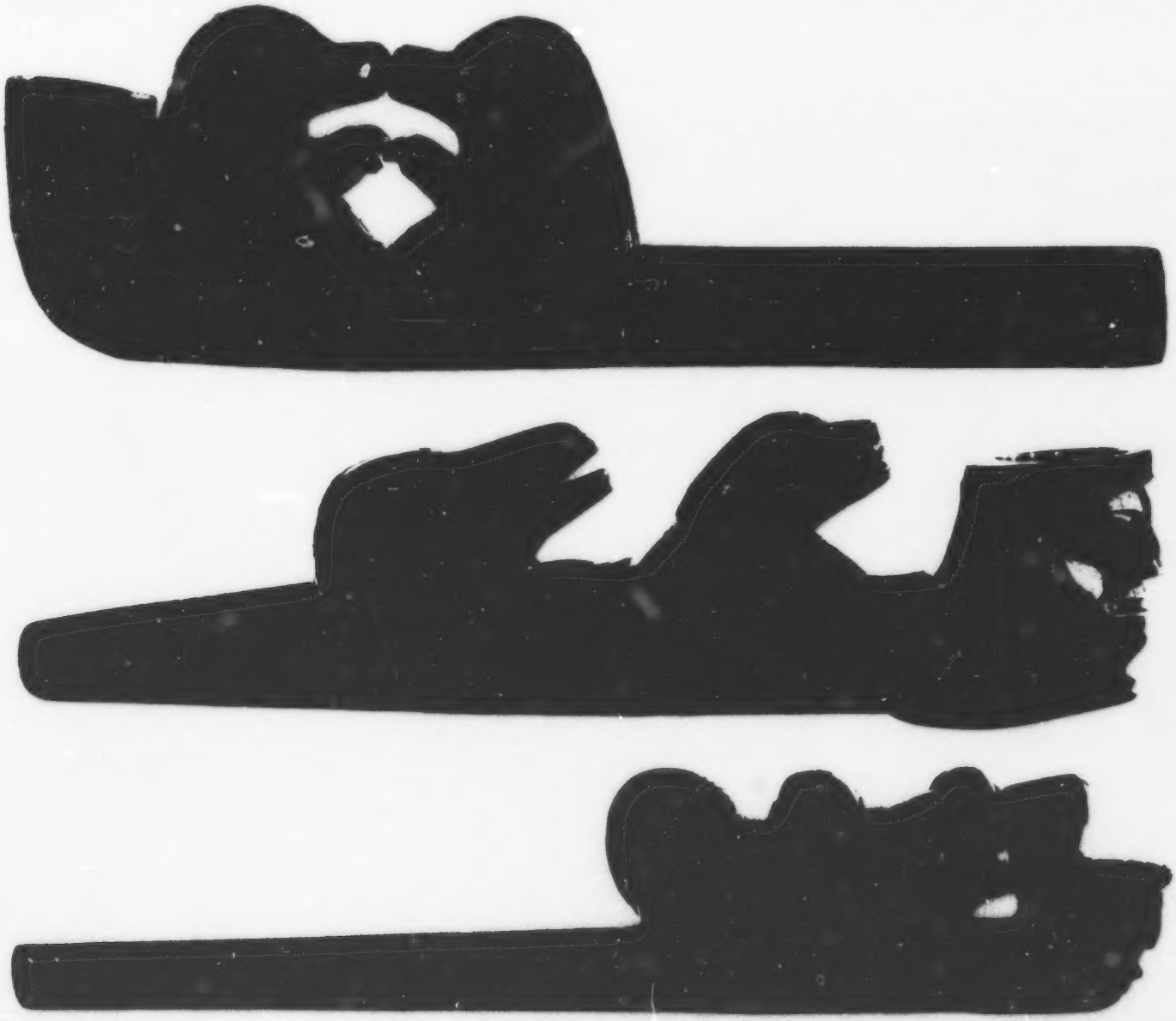
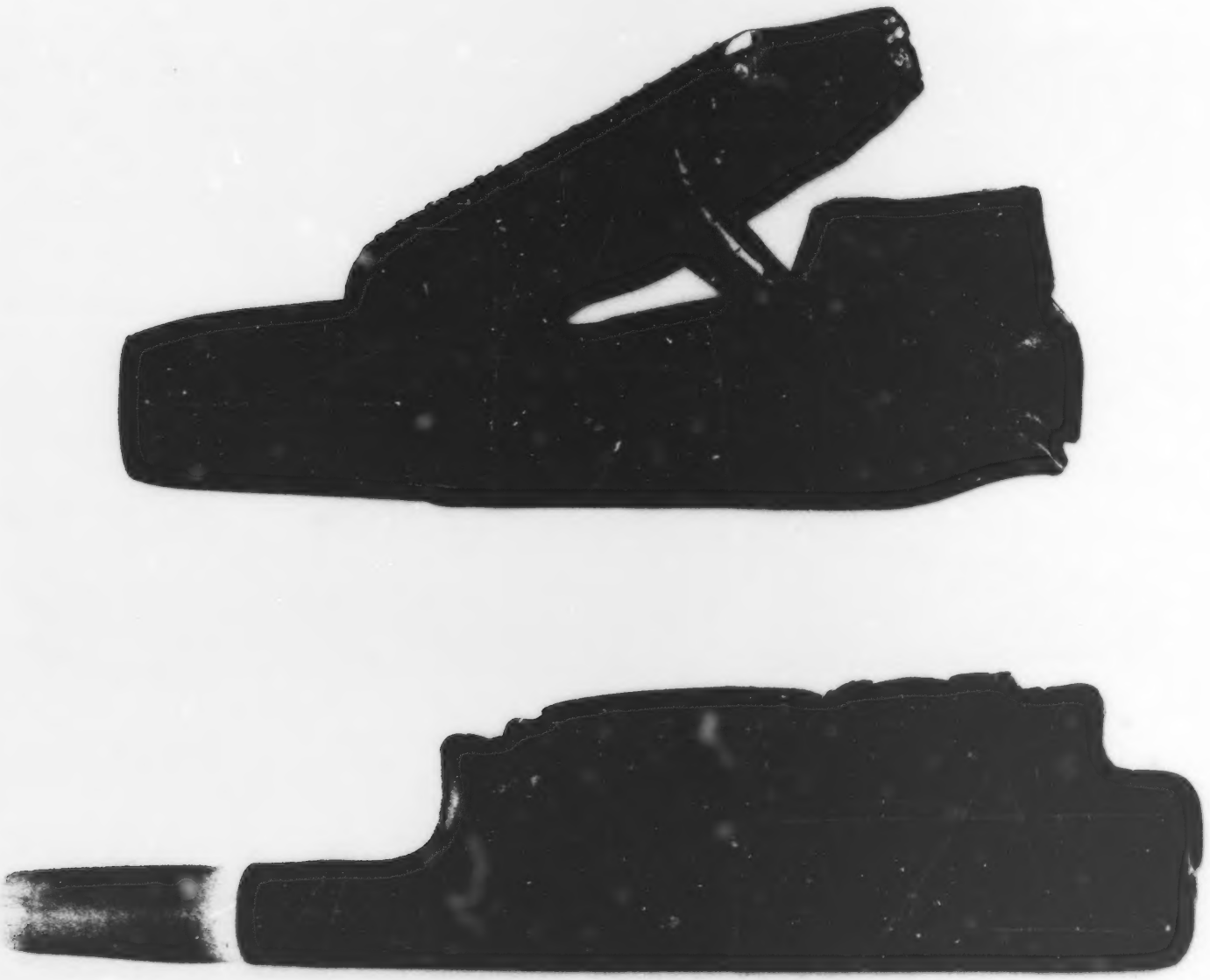


Figure 191
Cat. No. 10308
L. 10.5cm W. 2.3cm H. 5.8cm

Late trade pipe with an eagle-like face on the bowl and a bear-like creature with teeth on the stem.

Figure 192
Cat. No. 15669 R
L. 26.1cm W. 2.5cm H. 5.8cm

Late trade pipe fitted with a long, ivory mouthpiece. From right to left the figures include a human with a vestigal body, a raven, and a human head without a body.



19
Late Poles

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Figure 193
Cat. No. 15659 R
L. 6.6cm W. 6cm H. 23.2cm

Late totem pole. The bottom figure is a humanoid raven with fore and hind limbs plus wings which emanate from its armpits. The raven holds a frog that grasps the bird's lower limbs with its forefeet. The frog's hind feet touch the edges of the raven's beak. Above the raven is a whale that is biting its own tail and has a tall dorsal fin. The tail has an elaborate unidentified face-body that has forearms that grasp the raven's upper eyelids. A crouching human with a crown and long hair holds the whale's dorsal fin. Attributed to Charles Edensaw.

By 1890 poles were by far the most familiar carving in argillite produced for sale. The majority produced from this date through until the 1950s were under 45cm in height; most of these were 30cm and under. Without question some of these were produced in the 1880s. Price, in the majority of cases, was determined by height. A few of the great talents, like Edensaw, carved these diminutive poles and such examples are delightful. They were well balanced, had graceful, flowing appendages, and fine detail as evident both in sculptural and two-dimensional form (Figs. 193, 194, 195, 196). During this period, however, no other carver began to approach Edensaw's standards and virtually everything else pales by comparison.

As with late nineteenth-century carvings, two schools can be identified: The Skidegate school with its long ovoids (Figs. 202, 205) and the Masset school with fuller ovoids, heavier formlines, and double engraving, all of which reflect Edensaw's influence (Figs. 210, 211). The hollowed back disappears at this time, with virtually every specimen displaying a solid, flat back.

Few of the carvers from this period signed or otherwise marked their poles so attributions of authorship must be made after isolating personal style. Barbeau remains unreliable on this subject although his list of twentieth-century carvers is a helpful guide to at least a partial number of those who were then producing.

The work of Captain Andrew Brown can be identified with relative ease, providing a number of stylistic elements are at once present. These elements include a circular iris with point in centre, raised eyelid line extending to the edges of the eyesocket, the frequent presence of a realistically modelled eagle with wing feathers defined by a series of parallel lines, and stippling, roughly triangular in shape and formed with a tiny gouge (Fig. 221). Almost invariably appendages which project beyond the frontal vertical plane are separate pieces added on (the heads of eagles atop poles for example). It must be emphasized that all of the above attributes *must* be present before a pole can be attributed to Brown. For example the dot and circle eye is popular with other twentieth-century and some nineteenth-century carvers (Figs. 218, 219, 99).

Certain images are repeated in this era, a popular one being the Thunderbird-with-whale-in-talons. As described in Chapter 14, the prototype for this is the inside housepost from Skidegate, now in the British Columbia Provincial Museum (Fig. 101). Contemporary Skidegate carvers such as Rufus Moody and his mentors used this figure but it also appears in Masset carvings (Fig. 197), no doubt introduced there by Charles Edensaw who is said to have spent his youth in the dwelling in which the thunderbird and whale housepost stood. In the latter example the raven-with-frogs figure is also seen.

Despite Barbeau's contribution, the names of all twentieth-century carvers have nowhere been consolidated; the closest attempt may be found in the helpful list compiled by Drew and Wilson (1980:228-291). That this is incomplete can be deduced from the fact that the authors list some thirty artists who flourished between 1900 and 1940 while more than this number of personal styles can be identified on poles carved or collected in this period.

Figure 194
Cat. No. 15638 R
L. 5.3cm W. 4.8cm H. 16cm

Late totem pole. The bottom figure is a bear holding a small whale by its pectoral fins and grasping the whale's tail in its mouth. The presence of fin-like, u-forms below the bear's elbows suggests that it may be a sea-bear. Standing on the bear's head is a humanoid raven with fore and hind limbs plus wing-like appendages below its elbows. The raven holds in its beak an object wrapped in a covering. This motif may refer to Raven's mythic theft of Beaver's salmon-lake (Swanton 1905:125). Crouched on top of the raven's head is a small bear with dorsal fin, perhaps a second sea-bear. Attributed to Charles Edenshaw.

Figure 195
Cat. No. 15783
L. 5.3cm W. 3.8cm H. 15.9cm

Late totem pole. The bottom figure is a raven holding a frog on its chest. Above is a whale with its head resting between the raven's ears. The whale has pectoral fins and a large dorsal fin which is grasped by a man. The whale's body curls up over the right side of the man's head with the bilaterally lobed tail flopped over the top of the man's head. Attributed to Charles Edenshaw.

Figure 196
Cat. No. 15654 R
L. 4.2cm W. 4.2cm H. 16.5cm

Late totem pole. The bottom figure is a bear clasping a frog to its chest. The image at the top of the pole combines two figures, a sea-lion and a human. The sea-lion's recurved, clawed flippers and central tail lobe are located directly above the bear's forehead. The sea-lion's body stretches up so that its open mouth holds the man's head. The man's hands grasp the sea-lion's body above its clawed forelimbs. The human's body is unusual in that its hind legs do not terminate in feet but merge into the sea-lion's body where it recurves near its posterior end. Attributed to Charles Edenshaw.

Figure 197
Cat. No. 13529
L. 7cm W. 5cm H. 27.7cm

Late totem pole composed of three major figures. The bottom figure is a bird with a fragmented beak holding a whale in its talons. The second figure is a raven holding a small, eared animal crosswise in its beak. Above the raven's head is a disembodied animal's head, perhaps a bear. The last figure is a bear-like animal with long, downward extended forelimbs. This is the work of an unidentified artist heavily influenced by Edenshaw.

Figure 198
Cat. No. 15651 R
L. 5.2cm W. 5.1cm H. 19.9cm

Late totem pole comprised of three major and four minor figures. The bottom is a bird with a recurved beak holding what appears to be a whale in its talons. The second major figure is a bear with a cub cradled in its forearms. Clasping the larger bear's hind legs in a supine position is a frog. The top figure is a raven-like bird with a fish in its beak.

Figure 199
Cat. No. 4411
L. 5.2cm W. 4.7cm . H. 22.3cm

Late totem pole. The bottom figure is a bird with a recurved beak and a toothed, lipped mouth. The second is a raven holding a flat, rectangular object in its beak. The third figure is a seated quadruped with a grooved, curling tail, perhaps a wasco (sea wolf).

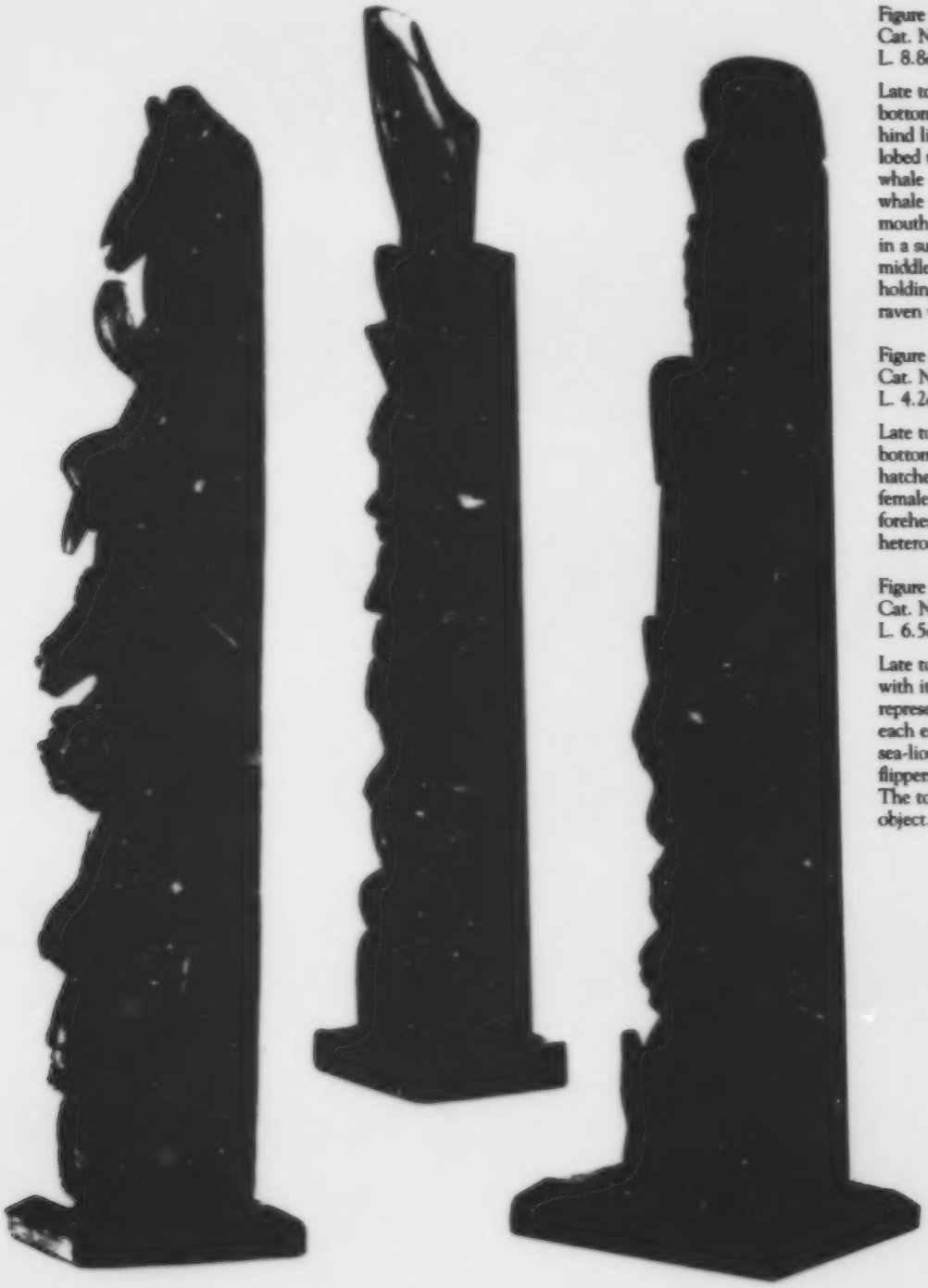


Figure 200
Cat. No. 15729 R
L. 8.8cm W. 9.3cm H. 43.1cm

Late totem pole with a hollowed back. The bottom figure is a wasco (sea wolf) with fore and hind limbs, pectoral fins, with both a bifurcated, lobed tail and a grooved, curling tail. It holds a whale with its forepaws. The rear part of the whale with its bifurcated tail is held in the wasco's mouth. A human with flexed arms and legs rests in a supine position on the wasco's head. The middle figure is a bear with extended tongue holding a frog on its chest. The top figure is a raven with its tail curved up in front of its body.

Figure 201
Cat. No. 15660 R
L. 4.2cm W. 3.8cm H. 21.7cm

Late totem pole illustrating two figures. The bottom figure is a beaver with upturned, cross-hatched tail and large incisors. The top figure is a female shark with labret, a trianguloid, arched, forehead flange, pectoral fins, a dorsal fin, and a heterocercal tail at the very top of the pole.

Figure 202
Cat. No. 15647 R
L. 6.5cm W. 5.9cm H. 24cm

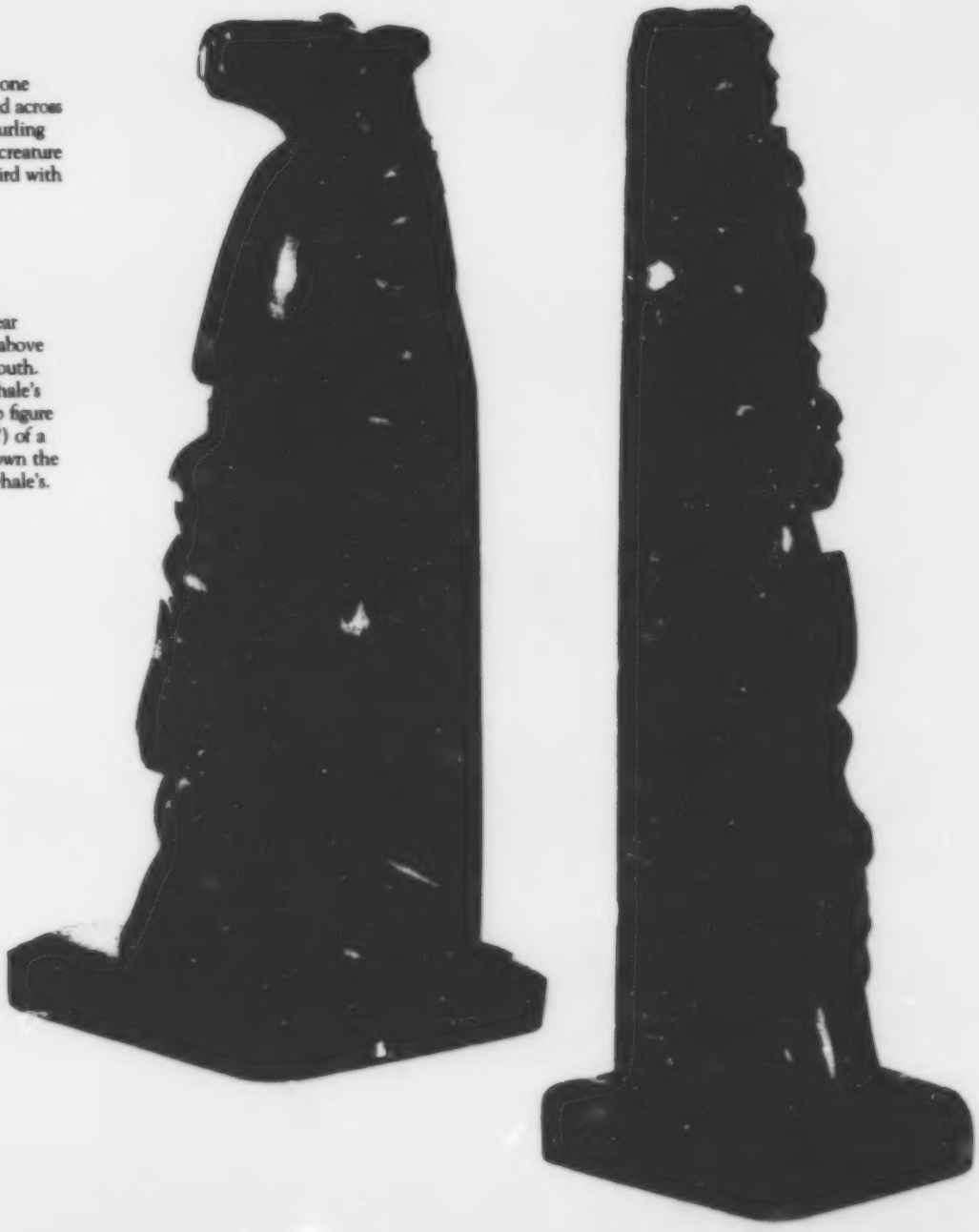
Late totem pole. The bottom figure is a whale with its tail recurved in front of its body and representations of its dorsal fin extending up from each ear. The next figure is a downward facing sea-lion with characteristic clawed, fore and hind flippers. Its body is being torn in half by a human. The top figure is another human holding an object.

Figure 203
Cat. No. 13304
L. 5.3cm W. 5.2cm H. 12.9cm

Late totem pole. The bottom figure holds one whale in its mouth while a second is draped across its lower limbs. The two whales and the curling tail between its hind legs suggest that the creature is a wasco (sea wolf). The top figure is a bird with a recurved beak.

Figure 204
Cat. No. 15643 R
L. 8cm W. 7.7cm H. 28.4cm

Late totem pole. The bottom figure is a bear holding a frog in its mouth. The creature above the bear is a whale with a human in its mouth. The ovoid and u-complexes around the whale's head may represent the dorsal fin. The top figure is an eared humanoid that grasps the tail(?) of a small human-like figure that is oriented down the pole with its head just above that of the whale's.



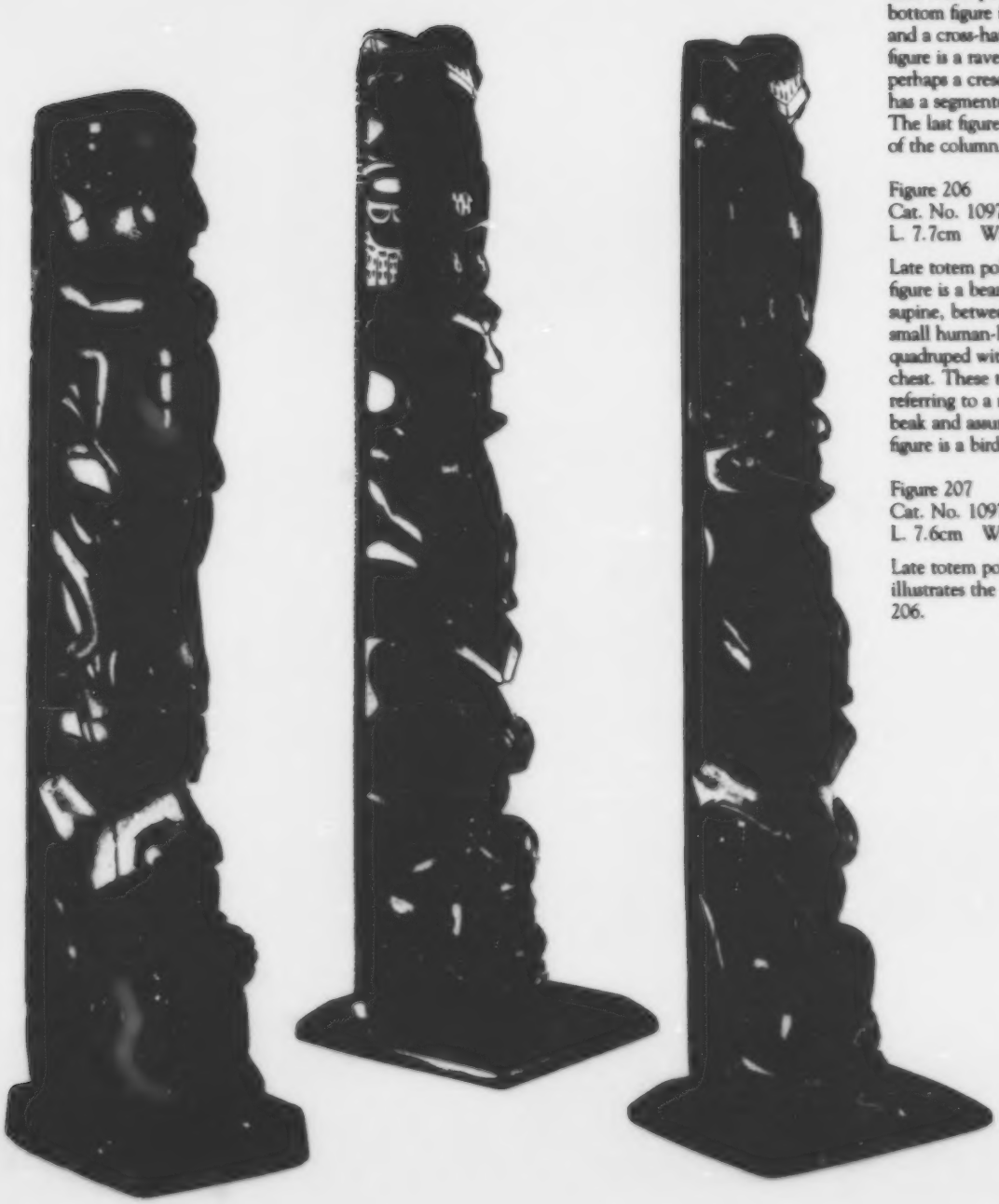


Figure 205
Cat. No. 14761
L. 5.9cm W. 4.7cm H. 24.5cm

Late totem pole illustrating three figures. The bottom figure is a beaver with large upper incisors and a cross-hatched, upturned tail. The middle figure is a raven holding an unidentified object, perhaps a crescent moon, in its beak. The raven has a segmented column rising from its forehead. The last figure, probably a human, grasps the top of the column.

Figure 206
Cat. No. 10976
L. 7.7cm W. 7cm H. 28.5cm

Late totem pole with hollowed back. The bottom figure is a bear with extended tongue. Held, supine, between the bear's rear and front legs is a small human-like figure. The middle figure is a quadruped with a labret and a raven's beak on its chest. These two motifs suggest that the artist was referring to a myth in which Raven both loses his beak and assumes a female identification. The top figure is a bird with a curved beak.

Figure 207
Cat. No. 10977
L. 7.6cm W. 7.1cm H. 30.2cm

Late totem pole with hollowed back. This pole illustrates the same figures as those seen on figure 206.

Figure 208
Cat. No. 10496
L. 5.8cm W. 5.7cm H. 21.8cm

Late totem pole. The bottom figure is a beaver with upturned, cross-hatched tail, a chewing stick held in the forepaws and large incisors. The middle figure is a raven with an upturned tail holding a thin rectangular object in its beak. This object appears to be thicker along one third of its forward edge as if it was folded back on itself. The unfolded surface illustrates two engraved outlines of fish, the head of one and the body of the second disappearing beneath the fold. This motif is a clear reference to the myth in which Raven stole Beaver's salmon-lake by rolling it up and flying off with it (Swanton 1905a:145-146). The top figure, which lacks lower limbs, holds a fish or whale in its mouth. A tapered projection that curves up towards the creature's elbows may be a tail suggesting that the animal is a wasco (sea wolf).

Figure 209
Cat. No. 2868
L. 5.1cm W. 4.9cm H. 21.1cm

Late totem pole composed of three figures. The bottom is a beaver with an upturned cross-hatched tail. The middle is a raven with an unidentified object in its beak. At the top is a creature with a humanoid head, wings which are clasped by small human-like hands, and feet. The presence of Beaver suggests that the unidentified motif in the raven's beak may represent Beaver's salmon-lake, stolen by Raven (Swanton 1905:125).

Figure 210
Cat. No. 15727 R
La. 7.8cm W. 6.3cm H. 43.7cm

Late totem pole illustrating four animal figures. From the bottom they are: a raven with a tapered, segmented cylinder rising between the two forward edges of its wings; a bear's head and forepaws emerging from an unidentified motif which appears to extend back and is held in the mouth of the next figure; a killer whale; and a bird with a curved beak.

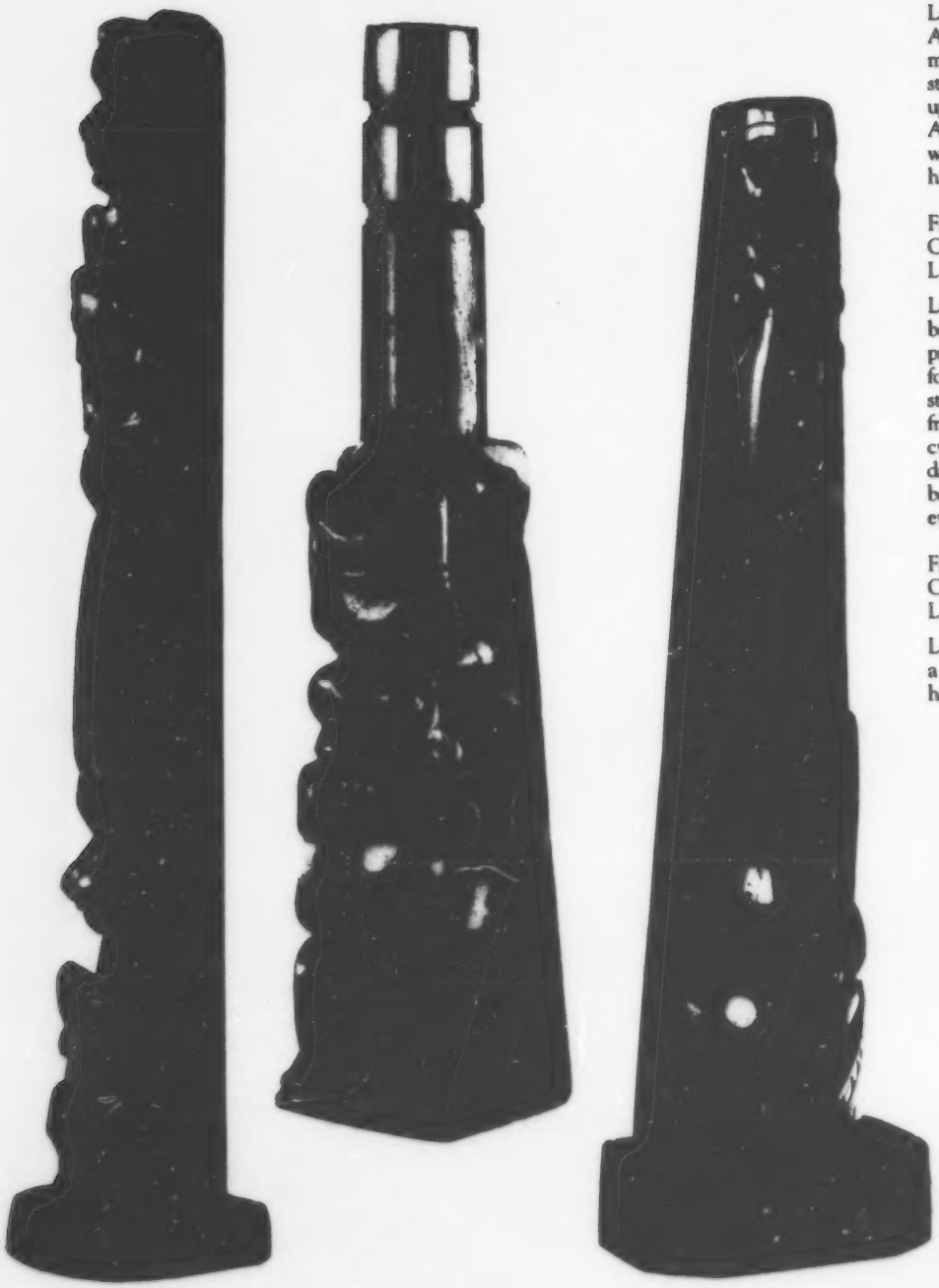


Figure 211
Cat. No. 15658 R
L. 5.3cm W. 5.1cm H. 29.4cm

Late totem pole composed of three major figures. At the bottom is a bear holding a frog. In the middle is a bird, possibly a cormorant, with a long straight beak. At the top is a beaver with an upturned tail that is elaborated into a human face. Although this pole shows a stylistic affinity to the work of Charles Edensaw, we do not attribute it to his hand.

Figure 212
Cat. No. 15653 R
L. 5.1cm W. 4.2cm H. 22.1cm

Late totem pole. The major image is a seated beaver with upturned, cross-hatched tail and prominent upper incisors. Although the beaver's forepaws are raised as if holding gnawing stick, a stick is not actually represented. Extending up from the top of the beaver's head is a ringed cylinder that represents the rings on a chief's dancing hat. A small frog curves down over the beaver's forehead with its forepaws on the beaver's eyes.

Figure 213
Cat. No. 15652 R
L. 7.3cm W. 4.5cm H. 27.2cm

Late totem pole illustrating a sculpin-like fish with a human holding it by the tail. The sculpin's head has abalone inlaid pupils and spines.

Figure 214
Cat. No. 15641 R
L. 8.2cm W. 6.7cm H. 31.5cm

Late totem pole featuring three major figures. The bottom figure is a beaver with large incisors, an upturned cross-hatched tail, and a gnawing stick held in its forepaws. The second figure is a raven with a frog held in its mouth. The third figure is a bear holding a curving, segmented column that rises from the raven's head.

Figure 215
Cat. No. 15639 R
L. 4cm W. 3.7cm H. 14.1cm

Late totem pole illustrating three figures. The image at the bottom represents a bear with extended tongue and clawed forepaws. The second figure is a disembodied, toothed, humanoid head. The top figure is a bird, probably a raven.

Figure 216
Cat. No. 6105
L. 6.1cm W. 5.6cm H. 30.2cm

Late totem pole illustrating four major figures. At the bottom is a beaver with an upturned tail elaborated as a human face and with a segmented stick held between its large front teeth. The second figure is a raven grasping a human-like head in its beak. The presence of stippled feather motifs suggests that the head represents the raven's upturned tail. The third figure is a quadruped with a long snout and a grooved, upturned tail, probably a wasco (sea wolf). On top of the pole is a bird holding a small sea mammal, perhaps a seal, in its bent beak.

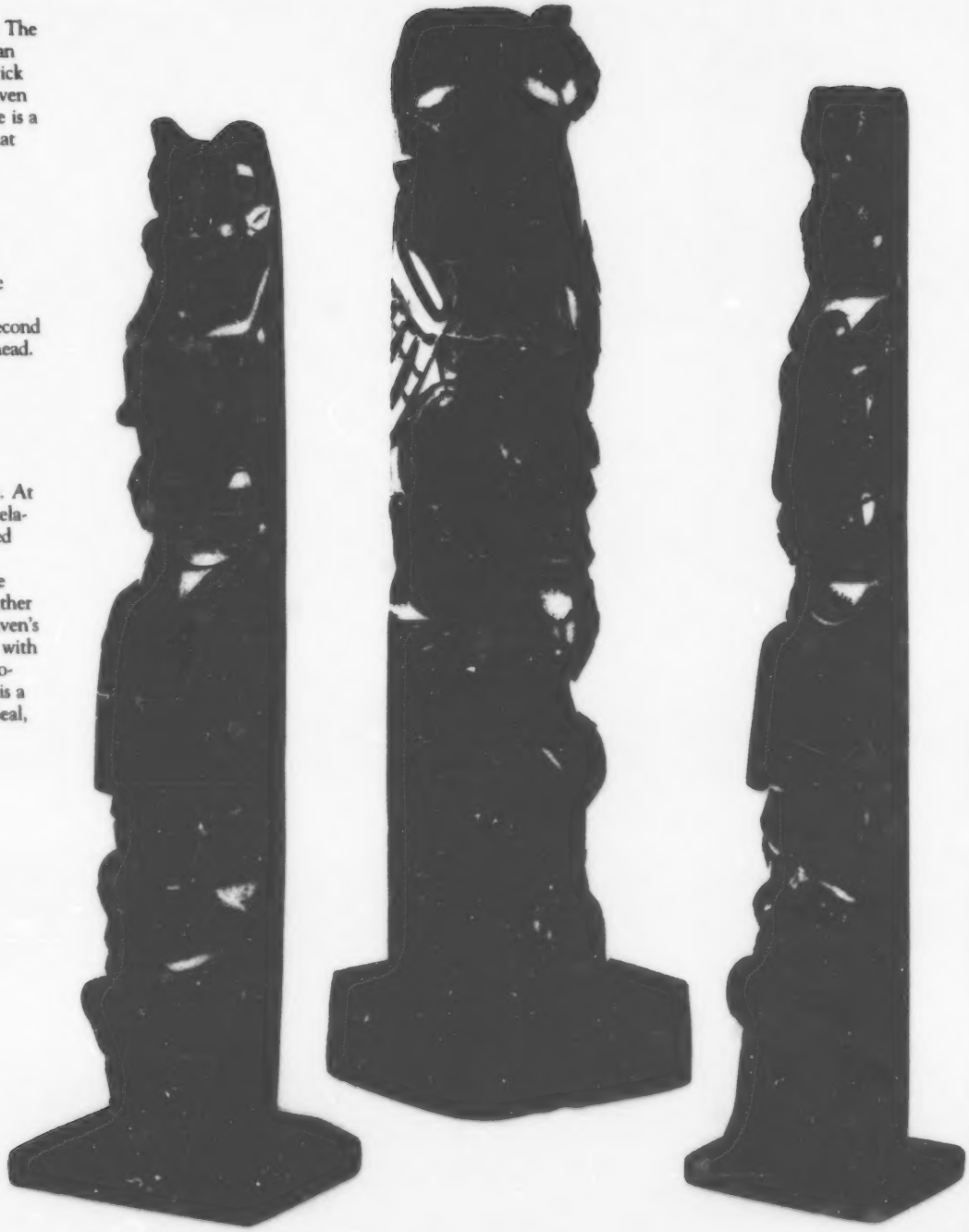


Figure 217
Cat. No. 15657 R
L. 4cm W. 2.8cm H. 13cm

Late totem pole illustrating three major figures. The bottom figure is a seated bear holding a marine mammal whose tail is in the bear's toothed mouth. The middle figure is probably a whale with its lower body recurved so that its tail meets its nose. The top figure is a bird with a recurved beak.

Figure 218
Cat. No. 15655 R
L. 4cm W. 3.5cm H. 14.9cm

Late totem pole. The lower figure is a bird with a curved beak. The second image is also a bird but with a curved beak and a mouth with human-like lips. It holds a downward-facing frog.

Figure 219
Cat. No. 14977
L. 3.8cm W. 3.3cm H. 15.9cm

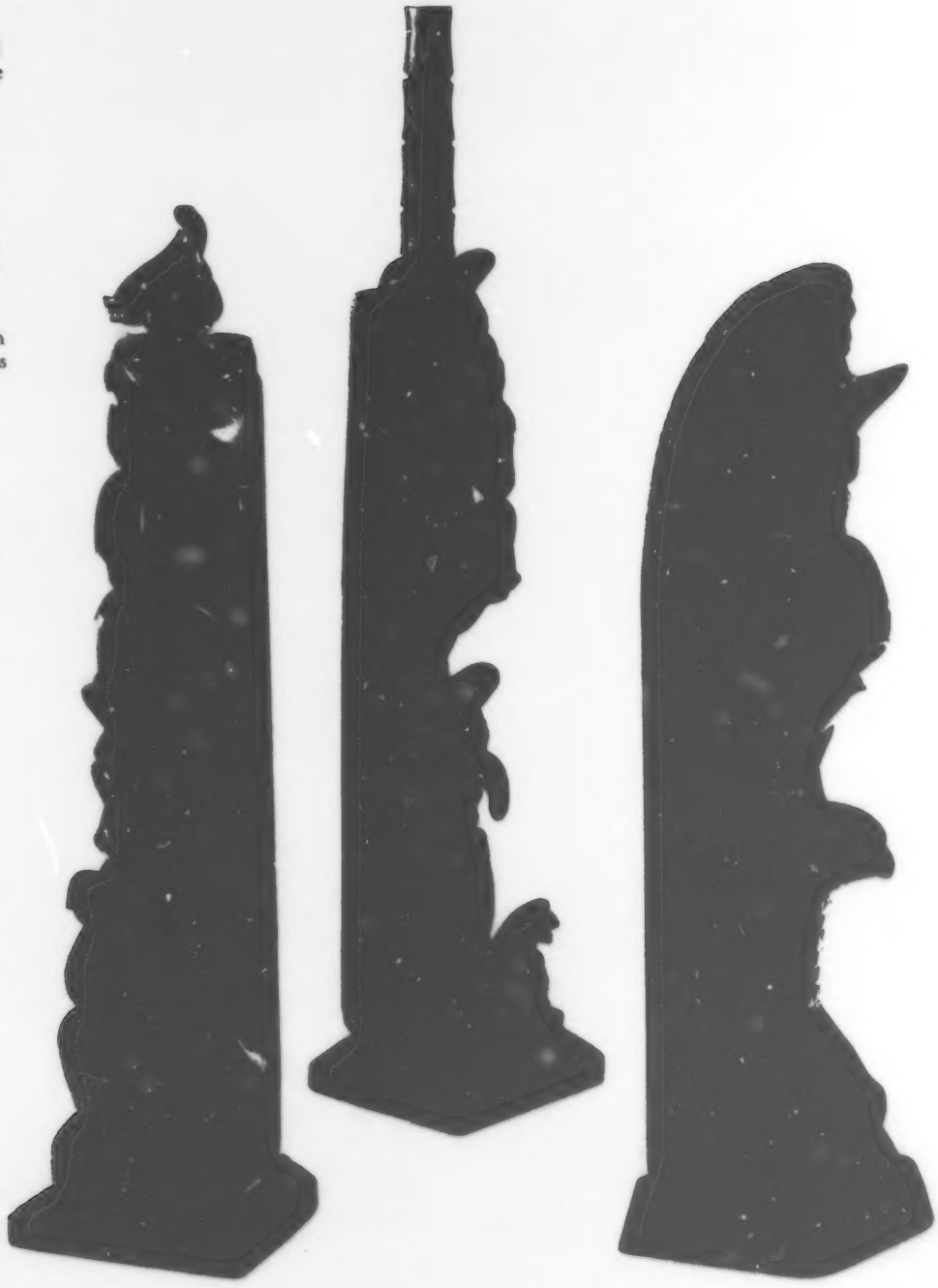
Late totem pole. The bottom figure is a beaver with an upturned, cross-hatched tail and a ringed cylinder rising up from the top of its head. Above the beaver is a seated human figure with a small fish-like creature on top of its head.

Figure 220
Cat. No. 14978
L. 4.4cm W. 4cm H. 21.5cm

Late totem pole. The bottom figure is a bird with a recurved upper beak and a toothed mouth with lips. In front of the bird are two small humans. Above the bird's head is a human figure in a contorted position. The top figure is a beaver with a chewing stick in its mouth. The beaver's head is surmounted by a four-ringed cylinder.

Figure 221
Cat. No. 15656 R
L. 4.2cm W. 3.9cm H. 16.5cm

Late totem pole. The bottom figure is an eagle with a halibut lying crosswise beneath its legs. Above the bird is a shark, held by a human. The shark's tail curls behind the human's head. Attributed to Captain Andrew Brown.



20
Late Platters, Chests and Other Objects

Peter L. Macnair

Overleaf
Figure 222
Cat. No. 14808
L. 32.9cm W. 22.1cm H. 3.5cm

Bone and abalone inlays enhance this late platter. The main figure depicted is obviously a mythic, five-finned, killer whale. Included is a realistic eagle, a halibut, and two men in a canoe of indeterminate shape. The underside is inscribed "Made by Thomas Moody, Skidegate Mission, B.C." and is one of several known platters from this period illustrating the same theme.

The unhappy decline of the argillite tradition in the twentieth century is clearly reflected in the platters and chests produced after 1900. While certain masters continued to create at this time, their successors came to dominate the market, by now clearly a curio trade. Most works from this era are from the Skidegate school, as the elongated ovoids indicate (Figs. 223, 225). Inlay of bone or ivory and occasionally abalone shell characterize many examples (Fig. 222).

The formline designs are generally simple in layout and may be bilaterally symmetrical, having been inspired by chest and box designs found on traditional wooden containers (Fig. 225). However, most are configurative (Fig. 222), perhaps reflecting both the artist's diminishing understanding of the more creative and complex expansive and distributive designs and the need to produce a relatively intelligible work for the buyer who characteristically had little knowledge of the formline principles.

Works from this period range from examples which are relatively accomplished, although usually rather stiff (Fig. 225), to those which can only be described as clumsy and crude (Fig. 228). Where relief carving appears, little of the classic forms have survived as can be seen in figure 230 where traditional eyesocket form, eyelid lines and precise stylized lips are lacking.

Certain themes are repeated on platters, often from the hands of different carvers. The combination of five-finned killer whale, eagle and canoe is familiar (Fig. 222). Here the eagle is depicted realistically, indicating a connection with silver engraving, and ultimately, the American eagle shown on the U.S. silver dollar. In this particular case, the traditional Northern or Haida canoe form is lacking; the craft shown has an amorphous shape, perhaps indicating the carver was by this time unfamiliar with the graceful lines of the ancient vessel.

Included in this category are various miscellaneous carvings which are too few to warrant separate treatment. The quality of the applied designs in such examples relates them clearly to the early twentieth-century platters and boxes. Canoes serve as one example (Fig. 232). The elongated ovoids, profile face, and double split u-elements clearly confirming the late Skidegate school. Canoes of an earlier decade are more accomplished and usually filled with singing and dancing figures paddling to an unknown destination (Fig. 165).

Other minor forms include a series of mermaids (Figs. 233, 234) which are generally attributed to John Marks (Barbeau 1957:199) but which may have been produced by Captain Andrew Brown, a Masset carver who flourished in the first four decades of the twentieth century. In fact Marks' personal style cannot be identified using the Barbeau examples because the three carvings illustrated exhibit widely differing attributes. The two "sirens" or mermaids display form and techniques without question employed by Brown. Other miscellaneous types form this period include inkwells, bookends and candlesticks.

Figure 223
Cat. No. 15801
L. 29.5cm W. 21cm H. 3.5cm

Late platter with six, diamond-shaped, bone or ivory insets around rim. A raven in profile dominates the upper design field with whale-like elements displayed to the left and below the creature. This combination may be a representation of tCA'maos or, the personified snag, given its similarity to a drawing representing this creature illustrated in Swanton 1905:Plate XXI, Fig. 1.

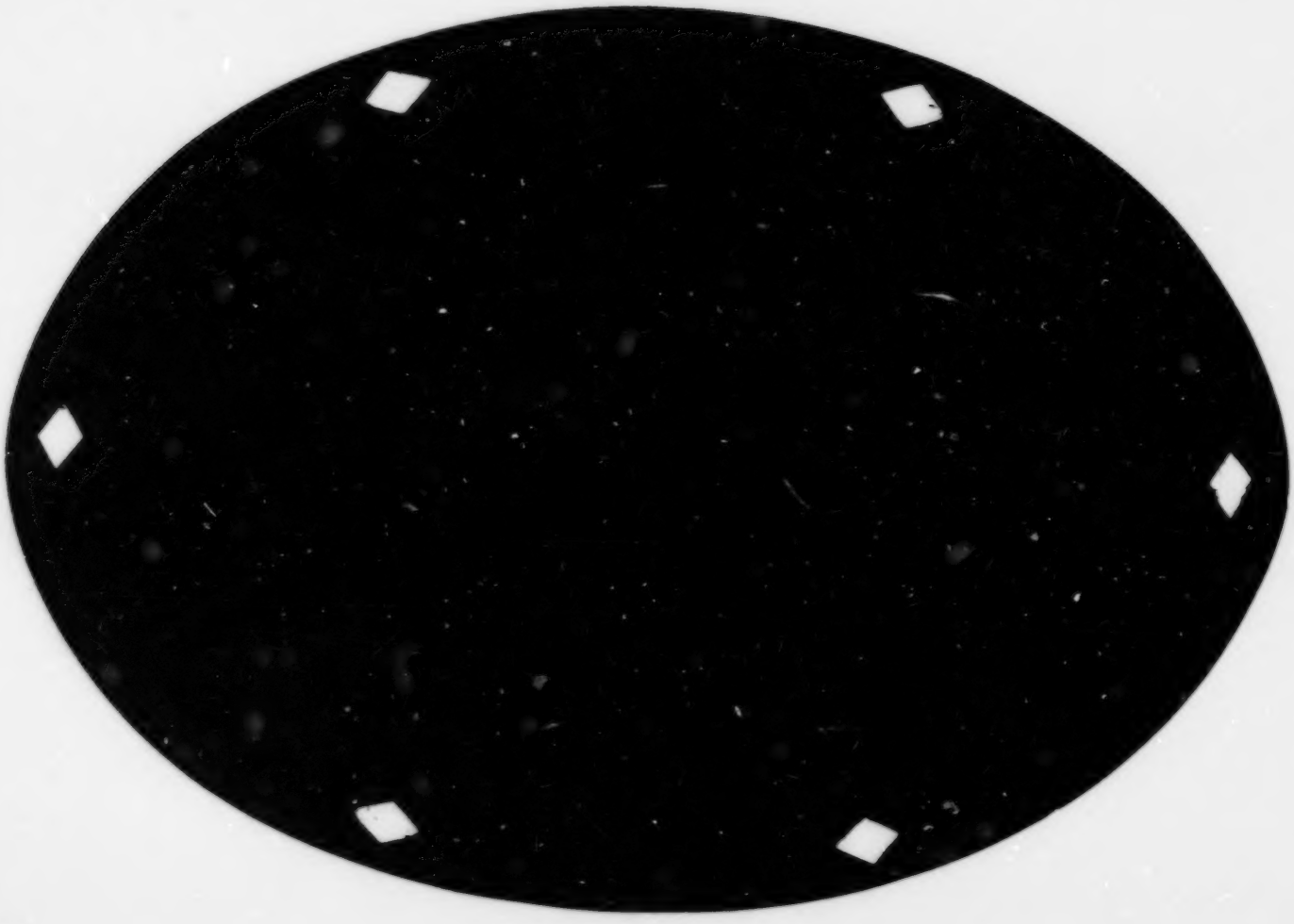


Figure 224
Cat. No. 15460
L. 21.6cm W. 11.9cm H. 2.5cm

Late platter showing profile view of a raven and attributed to the Skidegate school, given the long thin ovoids of wing and tail joints. The massive u-form space fillers, and cross-hatched ground also signify the work of Skidegate carvers.

Figure 225
Cat. No. 9069
L. 36.8cm W. 21cm H. 3.4cm

Late platter with opercula inlay around rim. Bilaterally symmetrical, two-dimensional design depicts a sculpin, indicated by the spines atop nostrils, above head and on fins.

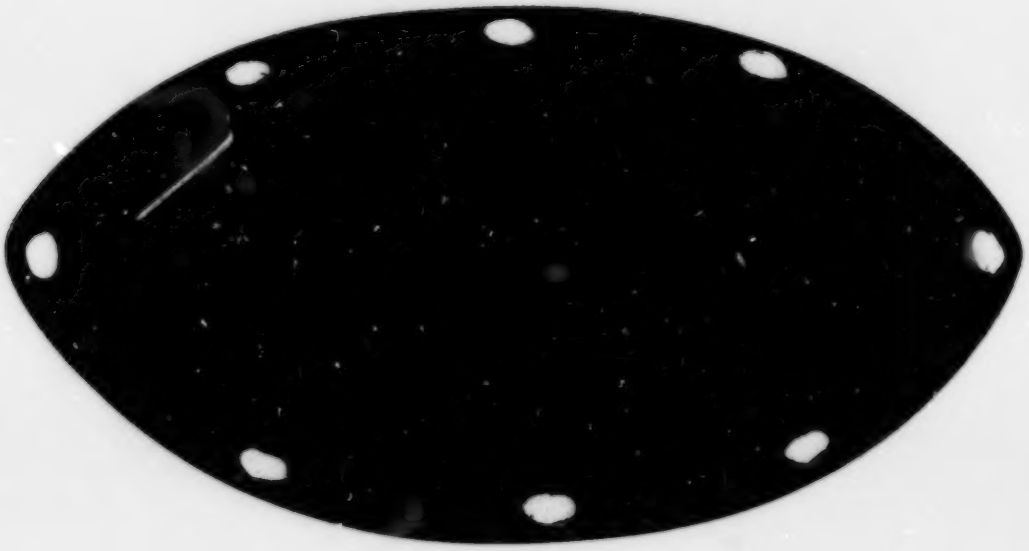


Figure 226
Cat. No. 2873
L. 34.4cm W. 20cm H. 2.9cm

Late platter featuring a carving, in relief, of a shaman with lower body of a fish. A bilaterally split, two-dimensional design depicting a sea mammal, flanks the shaman. This piece could also be attributed to the earlier Haida platter category.

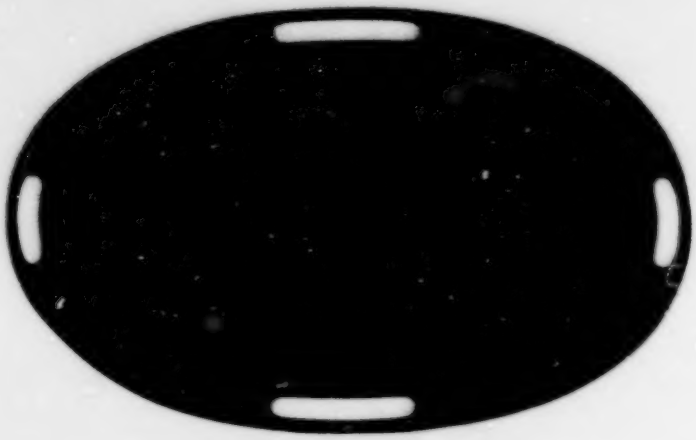


Figure 227
Cat. No. 15706
L. 24.7cm W. 15.4cm H. 2.4cm

Late platter with ovoid bone inlays around rim. The very soft ovoids on the rendering of the eagle in flight emphasize the decline of the art which took place at this time. The eagle holds a salmon in its talons.

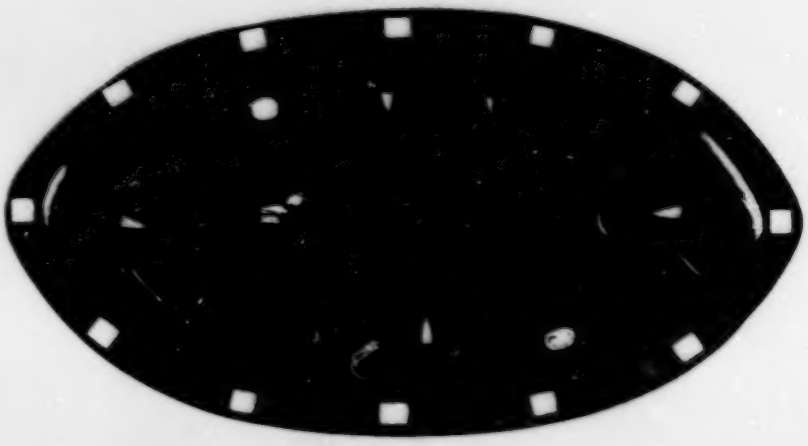


Figure 228
Cat. No. 9058
L. 36cm W. 19.9cm H. 3.1cm

Exceptionally cumbersome late platter with bone and abalone inlay, around the rim. Two, two-finned, killer whales are featured in a degenerate style and a salmon, carved in relief, separates them.

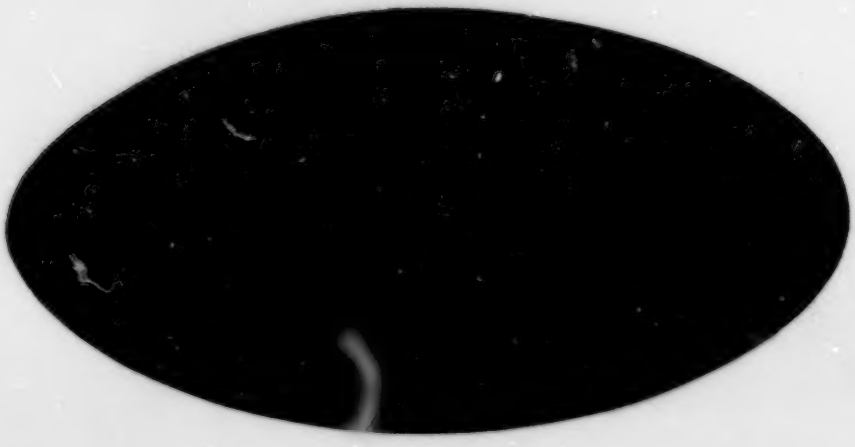


Figure 229
Cat. No. 15690 R
L. 18.4cm W. 9.3cm H. 2.2cm

Small, late platter featuring a whale and showing interesting triangular geometric motifs around the rim.

Figure 230
Cat. No. 15719 R
L. 18.6cm W. 15.8cm H. 12.3cm

Late chest with what is assumed to be a humanoid bird on the front. The brooding, profile faces contained within the wing ovoids are handled in the crude manner of twentieth-century carvers. A creature, probably a whale, is engraved on the visible end. Not clearly evident in the photo is a sculpin engraved on the lid.

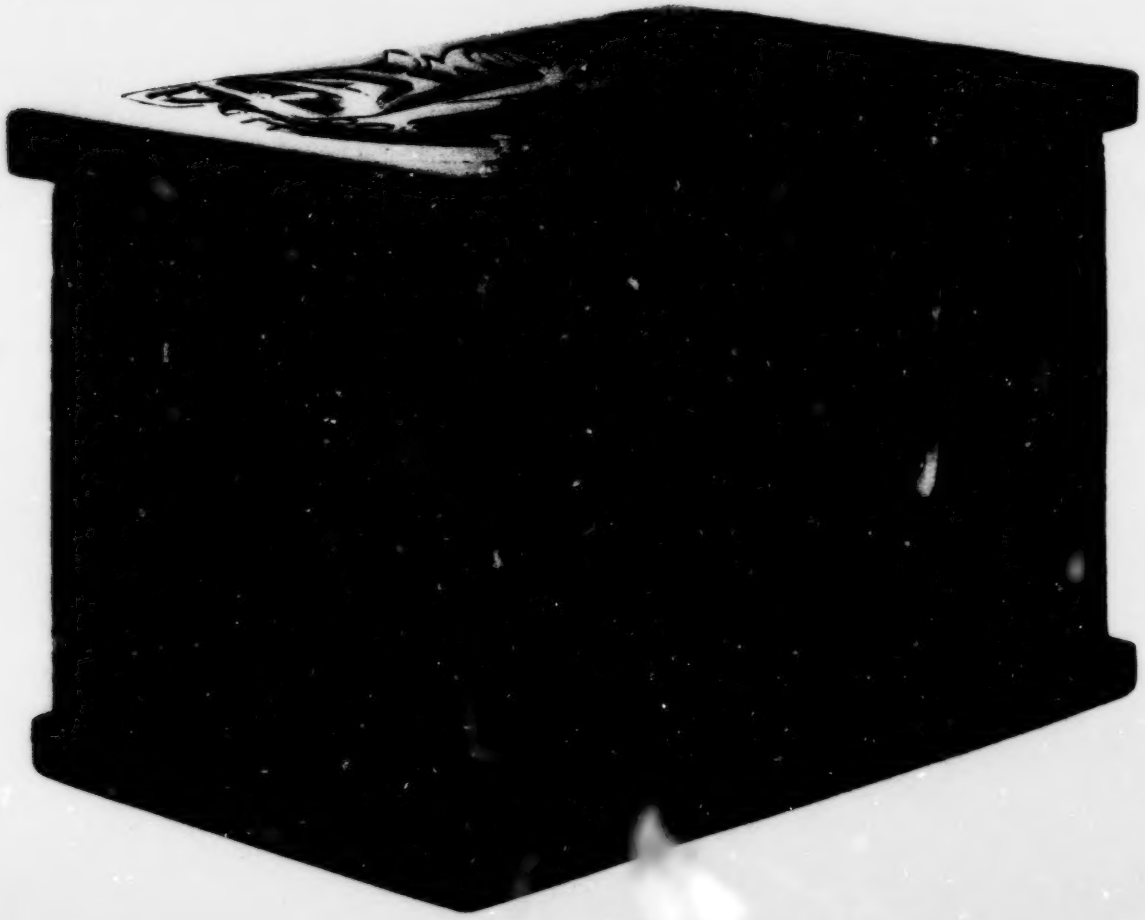


Figure 231
Cat. No. 9068
L. 14cm W. 4.2cm H. 4.4cm

Container in the form of a salmon mounted on base and pedestal.

Figure 232
Cat. No. 15795
L. 18.9cm W. 5.7cm H. 5.5cm

Late canoe with the head and tail of a creature placed, respectively, on bow and stem. A toothed whale may be intended by the design. U-form fins and cross-hatched ground designate the piece as late.

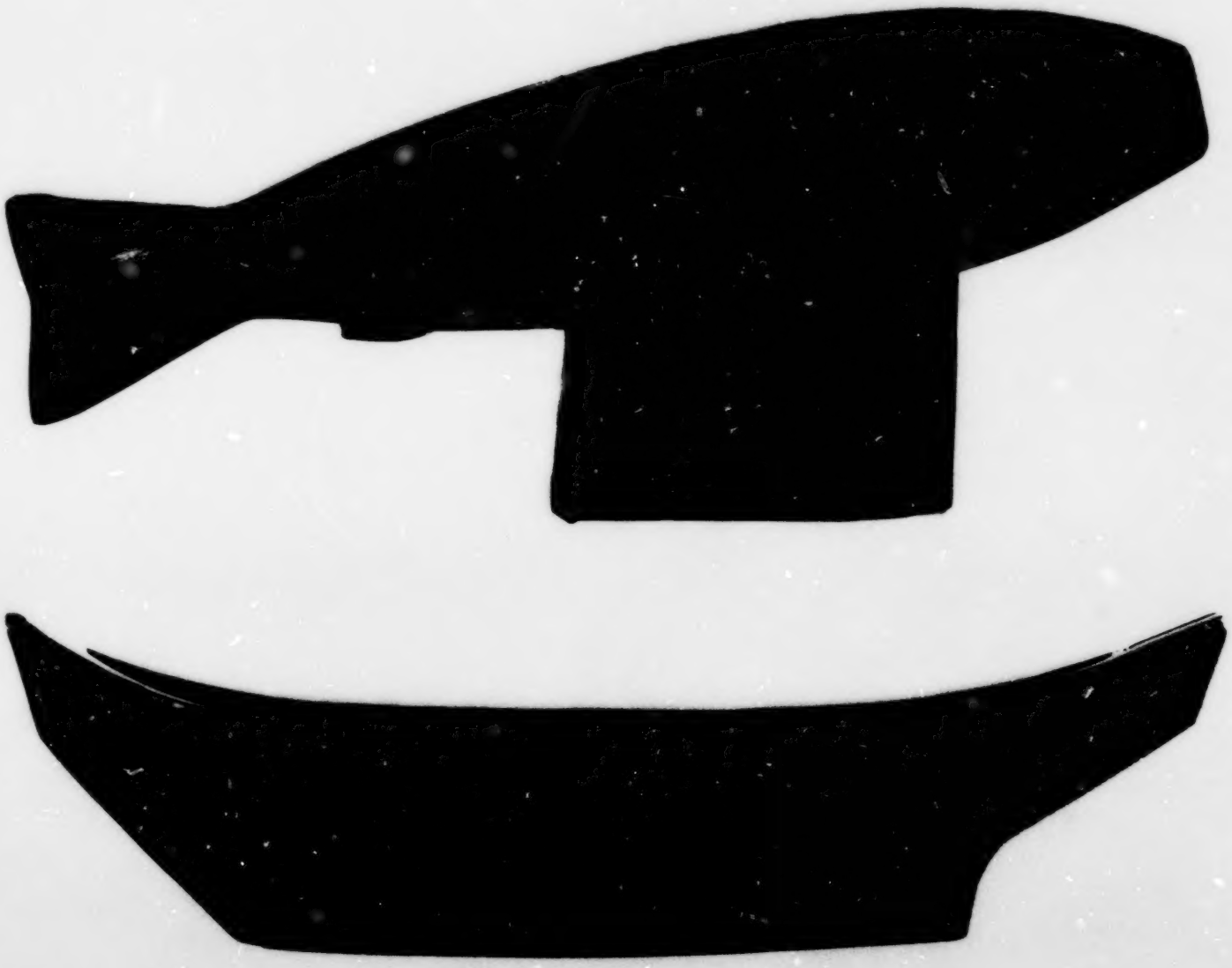
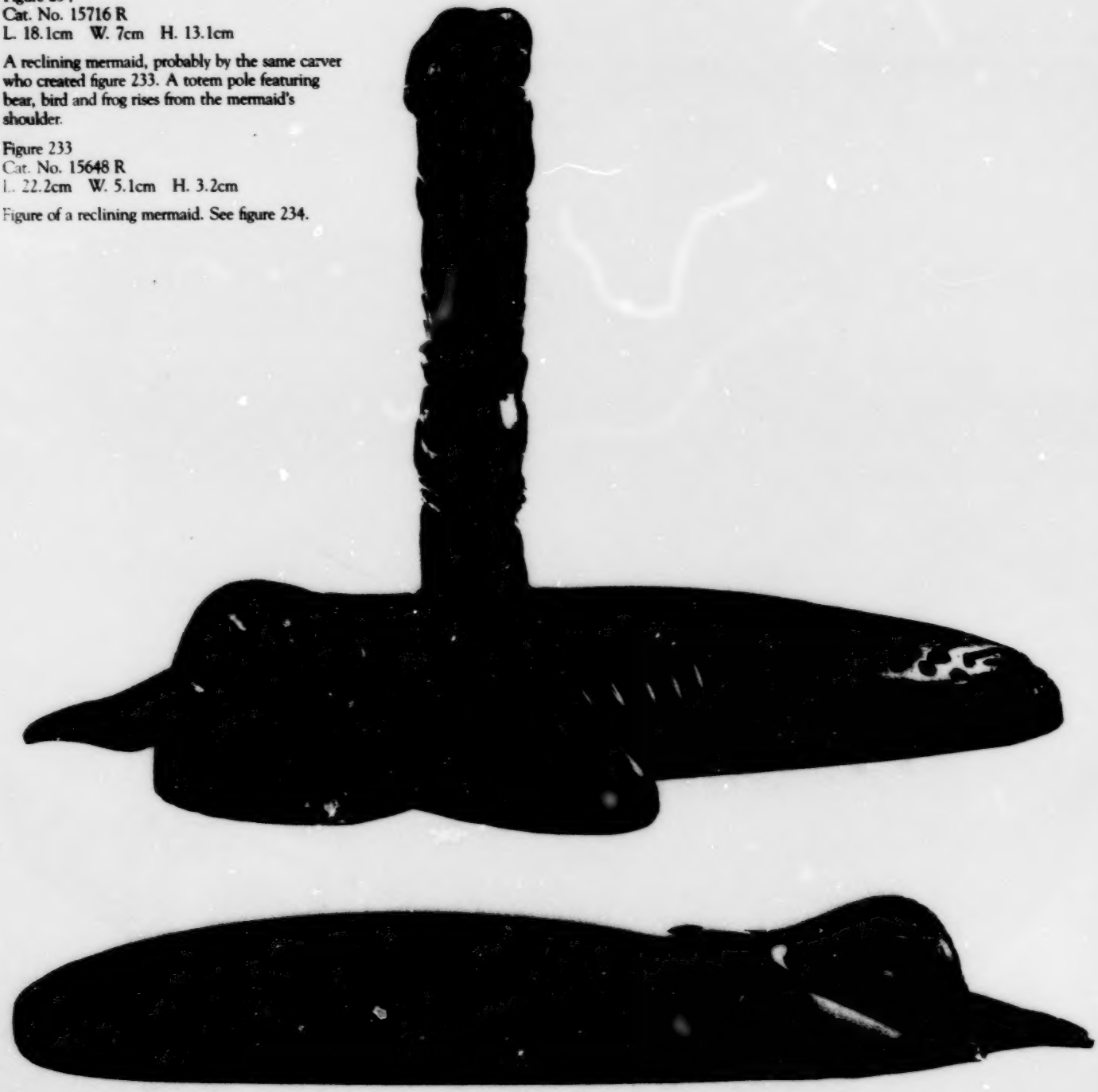


Figure 234
Cat. No. 15716 R
L. 18.1cm W. 7cm H. 13.1cm

A reclining mermaid, probably by the same carver who created figure 233. A totem pole featuring bear, bird and frog rises from the mermaid's shoulder.

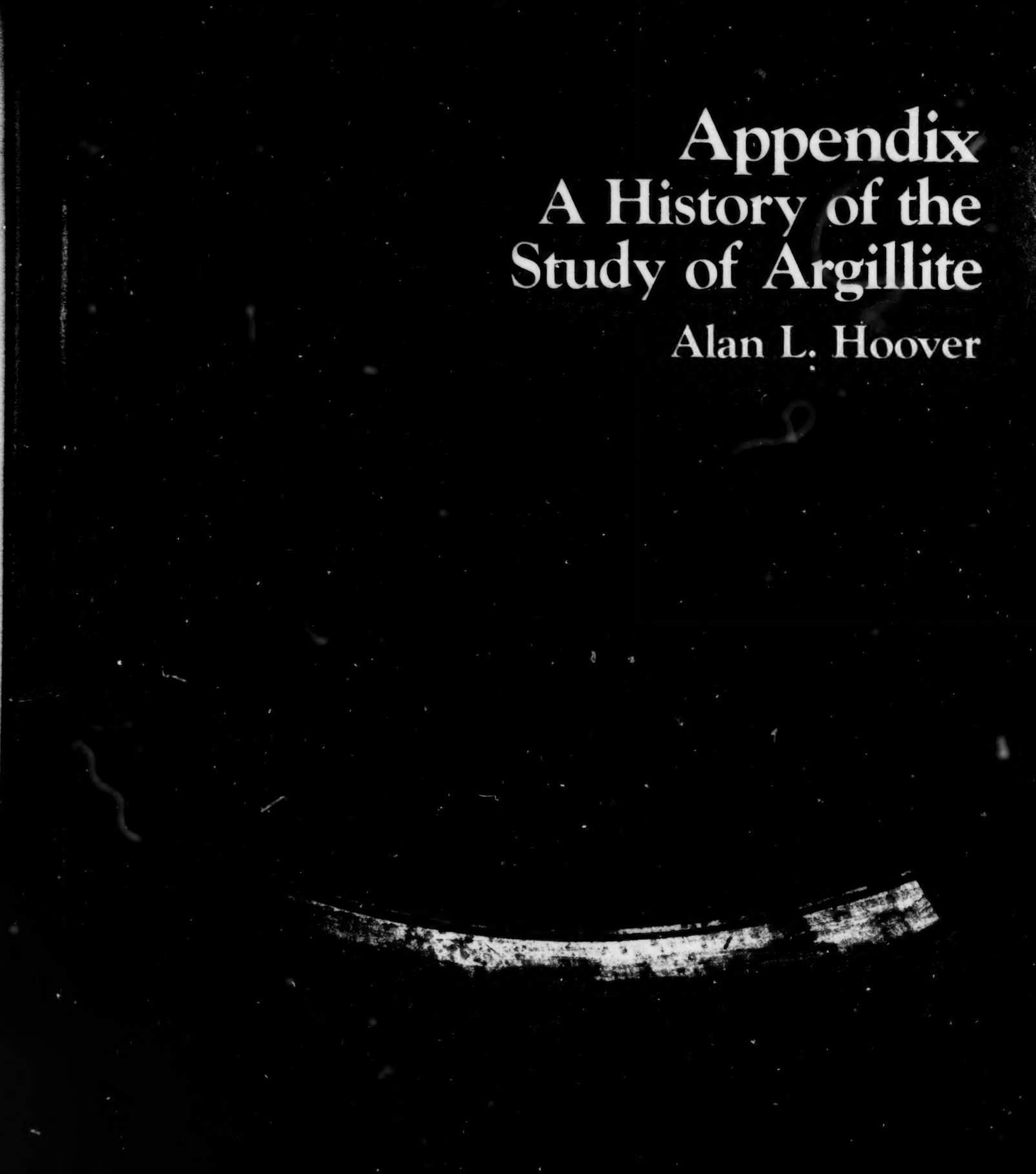
Figure 233
Cat. No. 15648 R
L. 22.2cm W. 5.1cm H. 3.2cm

Figure of a reclining mermaid. See figure 234.



Appendix
A History of the Study of Argillite

Alan L. Hoover



Overleaf
Detail of Euro-American motif plate,
Figure 77, see page 93

Peter Macnair suspected most of the problems revealed herein and confirmed them through painstaking study of museum records in North America, Paris and Berlin. I wish to thank him for providing me with the insights which enabled me to produce this analysis. (A.L.H.)

Although argillite has been collected for about 150 years, it was not until 1953 that Marius Barbeau published the first major work on the subject, *Haida Myths Illustrated in Argillite*. This book, written in a popular style, illustrates a number of Haida myths with argillite carvings chosen by Barbeau. A brief introduction deals with the origins and development of the argillite carving tradition.

Four years later Barbeau published a second volume, *Haida Carvers in Argillite*, which lists a number of carvers and their attributed works. The attribution of personal style is difficult and Barbeau did not have good judgement in this matter. For example, he was unable to distinguish the personal styles of Charles Edensaw and Isaac Chapman, identifying many Edensaw pieces as Chapman's work (e.g. Barbeau 1957:179, Fig. 184).

Barbeau consistently viewed the major features of Northwest Coast cultures — totem poles, crests, clans, secret societies — as recent developments emanating from Euro-American influences, or pre-contact but late migrations from Asia (Wright 1977:2-3). Barbeau's views on these matters are generally held to be in error (see Duff 1964) as are his views on argillite.

Faithful to his theory of outside influences Barbeau (1957:13) claimed that argillite carving began as "childish imitations" of the scrimshaw work of American whalers (1953:viii) and that the argillite tradition did not achieve final maturity until its practitioners turned to indigenous subjects during the last four decades of the nineteenth century (Barbeau 1957:1,13). Research by recent investigators has demonstrated that early argillite carvings were exactly the opposite of "childish imitations" and, whether depicting Haida or Euro-American motifs, were often truly creative works of art. Indeed, if the quality of the art changed it was toward degeneracy in the later stages of the tradition and not vice versa as claimed by Barbeau (Wright 1977:6).

Perhaps the most fanciful of Barbeau's claims is the role that he assigns to the Skidegate carver George Gunya. According to Barbeau (1957:5), Gunya, the owner of the area around Slatechuck Creek, was made aware of the argillite deposit there by white miners who discovered it in the 1820s. Barbeau does not document the source for this information which is highly suspect, given geologist George Dawson's statement (1880:13) that the first prospectors did not appear in the area until 1852 when a Hudson's Bay Company party was dispatched to look for the source of gold that had been found by Haidas on the nearby west coast. Barbeau (1957:5) claims Gunya soon discovered that argillite could be worked like wood and proceeded to begin the argillite tradition by carving a flute and pan pipe, followed quickly by other forms including tobacco pipes, plates, dishes, figurines and statuettes. Thus Barbeau attributes the entire argillite tradition, the first examples of which he claims (1953:2) were collected in 1820-21, to a man who he says (1957:9) died around 1880, a prodigious accomplishment indeed! This position is unquestionably fanciful given that subsequent research (Kaufmann 1969:117) has shown that recorders, Barbeau's "flutes", were first collected in the 1850s. Indeed Wright (1977:19) suggests that it is highly unlikely that the many recorders that Barbeau assigns to Gunya could be from a single hand. However, the complete lunacy of Barbeau's position, and a damning of his 'ability' to judge personal styles, is made clear by his claim that two Southern Kwakiutl wooden whistles — that he knew had been collected at Blunden Harbour by C. F. Newcombe — were made by George Gunya (Barbeau 1957:7,8, Fig. 4; see also Wright 1977:19). Barbeau was also at fault in his assignment or acceptance of unsubstantiated collection dates for two Haida motif pipes. He claims (1953:2) that a pipe in the Fort Garry Museum, near Winnipeg, Manitoba, has a date of 1821, and a pipe in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, the collection date of 1825. These questionable dates have subsequently been incorporated in chronological sequences of artifact types by Kaufmann (1969), Wright (1977), Drew and Wilson (1980) and Sheehan (1981), thus perpetuating the fallacies introduced by Barbeau.

Barbeau's blind allegiance to an outmoded theory of outside influences on the development of Northwest Coast cultures and his confusion and flights of fancy concerning the argillite tradition are difficult to reconcile with the high regard in which his unpublished field notes and museum records are held (Halpin 1973:22). For example, his comments on argillite pieces in the collection of the McCord Museum, Montreal (Macnair, on-site investigation), clearly indicate that his understanding of the chronological development of argillite carving was as sophisticated as that revealed by much more systematic and technical studies produced in the past decade or so. One can only assume that the pressure and rush to produce something for popular consumption caused him to be detracted from his research observations.

For nearly two decades Barbeau remained the authority on argillite; his two "textbooks" were depended upon by a generation of Haida craftsmen seeking to rediscover the dense black shale in the 1950s. They relied upon his books for inspiration and copied many of the poles and other carvings illustrated in the publications.

The results of the first systematic study of argillite appeared in 1969, in Carol Kaufmann's Ph.D. thesis *Changes in Haida Indian Argillite Carvings, 1820 to 1910*. Kaufmann's (1969:112-114) study of 450 argillite pieces resulted in the definition of 15 major types of artifacts arranged chronologically. Her "key temporal evidence" (1969:52) for placing these artifacts in a dated sequence was provided by 300 artifacts with "definite documented collection dates"; 50 of these documented pieces are shown in her Appendix I (1969:175-224).

There are problems with Kaufmann's chronology in addition to the unacceptability, argued below, of the 1820s dates for Haida motif oval and panel pipes. Kaufmann's claim (1969:178) that Haida motif animal form bowls first appeared in 1820, is based on a single specimen collected in 1841.

Her 1840 designation (1969:189) for the Euro-American figure is apparently based on the discovery of a single artifact with no collection date and an accession date of 1894. Kaufmann (1969:199) pushes the decade designation for totem poles back to 1860 but again this is assumed on the presence of one pole collected in 1873. These discrepancies appear to seriously compromise Kaufmann's claim (1969:2) that she constructed her chronology on the argument that collection dates "furnish a firm chronology" for argillite artifacts because they are a "more accurate index to date of manufacture than for artifacts produced for indigenous usage." The uncritical use of these dates in extending the time depth of these four artifact types argues for a re-examination of Kaufmann's scheme. A similar lack of firm documentation suggests that Kaufmann's end-of-decade dates for some artifact types are also open to question. If Kaufmann used additional chronological data in attributing decade parameters they are not reproduced in her thesis.

In her sequence of artifact types Kaufmann (1969:121), using the cultural origin of the depicted subject matter, defined three stylistic periods which she calls Haida I, Western and Haida II. Haida subjects, which comprise the dominant images portrayed in the Haida I and II periods, are defined as those "forms which allude to traditional indigenous protagonists" and include mollusks, insects, fishes, amphibians, birds and mammals (Kaufmann 1969: 103-105). Euro-American imagery which forms the dominant subject matter of the Western period is defined as "elements derived from the external or contacting society." These include dogs, horses, eagles, "mainly derived from American coins," humans, mostly sailors dressed in appropriate clothes, floral designs, ships and ship parts, houses and abstract symbols such as letters (Kaufmann 1969:109-110).

Kaufmann dates Haida I from 1820-1835. Transitional pieces which combine Haida and Western motifs are said to appear about 1830. The Western period is defined as 1830 to 1865. Haida motifs, according to Kaufmann, begin to reappear in the 1860s. Haida II is dated from 1870 to the end of the study period, 1910 (1969:122,126-127, 135). The earliest documented collection dates reproduced by Kaufmann as evidence of the reappearance of Haida motifs are 1872 and 1873 (1969:199-201). The "before 1879" field collection date on a plate that combines Haida and Western motifs (1969:205) demonstrates the considerable overlap that occurs between Kaufmann's named stylistic periods.

In discussing the three periods, Kaufmann offers the following suggestions concerning the choice of iconographic motifs. The initial employment of Haida themes is simply explained as the application of aboriginal content to a new medium (1969: 121,145). The dramatic change in favour of Euro-American imagery is seen as indicative of a change in Haida attitudes, perhaps resulting in a desire to understand and make use of the offerings of Western 'civilization' (Kaufmann 1969:127,145). Although Kaufmann views the American whalers and their scrimshaw activities as a major source of the iconographic content of the Western period (1969:129-134), she rejects the notion that the change from Haida to Western motifs was a direct result of the presence of the whalers in Haida territory. Nor does she believe the drastic change in subject matter to be simply a response to the demands of the marketplace. Kaufmann (1969:145-147) does suggest that the return to indigenous iconography between 1865 and 1870 reflected profound changes in Haida society. These changes are indicated by the fact that for the first time argillite carvers began to produce artifact types which are modeled on prototypes that were intimately connected with the essence of aboriginal Haida culture, namely totem poles, large storage chests, and, most telling of all, shamans and chiefs. Haida cultural institutions had come under tremendous pressure in the face of disastrous population loss, a new economy, Western medicine, Christianity, etc. The fact that its traditional leaders were now the subjects for a curio art reveals the profound transformation that had reshaped the daily life of the Haida. Kaufmann does not offer an explanation as to why Western imagery was dropped at the beginning of the Haida II period other than to note Gunther's (1956:152) contention that this was a response to the disappearance of whalers from the vicinity of the Queen Charlottes.

In summary Kaufmann's major contribution to the study of argillite has been to define the various artifact types produced throughout the tradition and to arrange these in a stylistic sequence. As will be seen below, her pioneering study forms the baseline for subsequent work by other investigators.

The next major study of argillite was produced by Robin Wright, a student of Bill Holm at the University of Washington. Wright's unpublished M.A. thesis is an intensive examination of the pipe form in the argillite tradition. Wright (1977:56) analyzed photographs of 556 Haida argillite pipes and 23 wooden pipes. Her decision to limit the study to pipes was based on Kaufmann's discovery that, one, pipes were among the first type of argillite objects made, two, that they remained the dominant artifact throughout the first two periods of the tradition, and, finally, that the pipe as a popular form virtually disappeared after 1865 (Wright 1977:10).

Wright (1977:56,109) categorized all the pipes into one of three types: (1) pipes exhibiting traditional Haida motifs, (2) pipes based on Euro-American ship motifs, (3) pipes that derive their form from the clay trade pipe. The first and largest category (286 of 579 specimens) subsumes Kaufmann's "oval" pipe, "pipe panel" and "panel" artifact types. Wright rejects these terms because a number of Haida motif pipes can be placed in either category (1977:63-65; cf. our Fig. 12). The second category, referred to by Wright as Haida argillite ship pipes (see Wright 1979), includes pipes which are obviously based on Euro-American ships as well as ones which illustrate Euro-American motifs but do not resemble a ship in overall form (cf. Fig. 39). Approximately one-quarter of the sample (133 of 579) fit this category. The features which characterize ship pipes are:

> (1) a base line representing the hull of the ship extending off the prow (116/133), (2) an upturned prow (97/133) usually decorated with a scrolled "billet head" (53/133) or figurehead (77/133) or both [See Wright 1979 for illustrations of these features.], (3) a central

cabin structure (134/133)* often with windows (112/133), (4) Euro-American figures (255/133)* posed on deck or inside the cabins, interacting with each other in a variety of ways and often engaged in ship related activities, such as manipulating the equipment [cf. Fig. 44] or being caught in the rigging (19/133), (5) the ship's rigging in the form of ropes (21/133) and pulleys (15/133), (6) floral motifs (83/133) in the form of leaves (72/133), berries (34/133) and flowers or rosettes, and (7) paddle wheel steamer motifs in the form of semi-circular and circular paddle wheels (52/133) and smoke stacks (25/133). (Wright 1977:70)

Pipes which exhibit one or more of the first three characteristics, plus any of the remaining four are classified by Wright as ship pipes. Therefore, pipes with Haida motifs can be categorized as ship pipes if they meet the above stated essential characteristics (e.g. Fig. 54). Both the Haida motif and ship pipe types show a stylistic evolution from "small, compact, few-figure pipes toward longer, thinner, more open, multiple-figure pipes" (Wright 1977:73).

Wright disputes Kaufmann's claim that the scrimshaw jagging wheel (see Franklin 1976:131, Fig. 653) was the primary source of the circular motifs with internal radii seen on many ship pipes (see Fig. 39). She notes that four of the seven pipes cited by Kaufmann (e.g. see Wright 1979:45, Fig. 12) are unquestionably paddle wheel steamships. Based on her thesis that the source of the circular motifs is steamer paddle wheels, Wright (1977:80,82) states that all pipes showing these motifs therefore post-date the 1837 arrival of the first steamship on the Northwest Coast, the Hudson's Bay Company's *Beaver*. Wright also challenges Kaufmann's assertion that scrimshaw or magazine illustrations were the major source of floral motifs. She contends that the more obvious source was the wood carving on Euro-American ships, a study of which reveals that the "primary decorative motifs used are floral ones" (Wright 1977:83).

Wright also notes the existence of Haida, wooden ship pipes that exhibit many of the characteristics of the argillite ship pipes, that is base line, upturned prow with billet head, trail board and/or figurehead, house structure, floral and paddle wheel motifs (Fig. 50). At last count (Wright *1982a*) 37 wooden, ship pipes have been identified.

The third pipe category, those based on the form of the Euro-American clay, trade pipe represents the remaining one-quarter of Wright's study sample (160 of 579) (1977:91). The significant feature which identifies this type and separates it from the Haida motif and ship pipes is an exposed stem which extends "beyond any sculptural decoration that may adorn the bowl or stem immediately next to the bowl" (Wright 1977:97; e.g. our Fig. 96). This type exists in at least three forms. Stylistically the simplest is essentially a direct copy of the clay, trade pipe (Wright 1980:42, Fig. 1). The bowl of this variant is often elaborated with a portrait face and/or floral motifs (Fig. 88). The second form is an elaboration of the first, combining the portrait bowl with one of more figures, usually Euro-American in origin, on the stem (Fig. 92). The third is the elaborate Haida motif clay trade pipe with a number of interlocked figures on the stem (Fig. 177). This variant is usually the largest of the three forms and is often flattened along the base of the stem allowing it to sit upright on its own (Wright 1977:104-107).

Wright (1977:109) asserts that all three major types of pipes were made from "the very beginning of the argillite carving tradition" and is unequivocal in her assertion that "firm documentation" places the Haida motif and ship pipes "in museums by the second and third decades of the nineteenth century" (1977:91). However, research initiated by Macnair suggests that her documentation for pipes said to be collected in the 1820s can be questioned. Wright states in three places that the ship pipe collected by Hadlock (1979:42, Fig. 3) was in Berlin by 1818 and in the Museum of Ethnology by 1824 (1977:39,73; 1979: 43), yet does not give the source of this information. An examination of the catalogue card for artifact IV B 62 and an older list of artifacts which includes the latter makes no mention of the 1818 date. Both documents simply record "Hadlock 1824" (Berlin Museum of Ethnology, catalogue records). Twenty items in the Berlin Museum other than IV B 62 are documented as collected by Hadlock. They appear to be Eastern Woodlands and Eskimo in origin. Not a single piece is from the Northwest Coast. This suggests that perhaps ship pipe IV B 62 is incorrectly documented as Hadlock in origin. An admittedly slender case for this theory can be constructed by examining the catalogue page mentioned above. The catalogue records that artifact number 60, the description of which is indescipherable, was collected by "Deppe 1837" from "New California." The collector for unlocated artifact 61, a "pipe head with stem," also from New California, is originally recorded as Deppe. This name is stroked-out and "Hadlock 1824" written above. The collector of artifact 63 is recorded as Hadlock but the provenance changes to "Ohio." The latter is consistent with the provenance of the other Amerindian items in the Hadlock collection. The Deppe collection, photographed in 1981, consists of a Northern Northwest Coast face mask, two Northern painted paddles, a quiver and arrows of undetermined origin and a pair of obviously Eastern Woodlands' moccasins. Upon seeing rather poor slides of the quiver and arrows, Bill Holm felt that they might possibly be Californian. The fact that the mask and paddles are clearly Northwest Coast, and the quiver and arrows possibly Californian, suggests that the Woodlands' moccasins may be from the Hadlock collection and that the latter and the Haida argillite pipe, IV B 62, were inadvertently switched. The above circumstantial evidence might be interpreted to suggest that Hadlock never collected the pipe and that it may belong with the Deppe material and have a date of about 1837.

Both Kaufmann (1969:175) and Wright (1977:66, Pl. 5) refer to a Haida motif pipe in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University with the apparent collection date of 1819. This pipe, number 48404 (Holm 1982:134, No. 104), and pipe number 48403 (Holm 1982:135, No. 105), were acquired by the

*(Here Wright refers to the number of motifs as against the number of artifacts.)

Addendum:
To be placed at the foot of column two on page 203.

Wright acknowledges (1982:49; footnote 1) that, on the basis of information collected by Macnair, the 1818 and 1824 dates for the Hadlock pipe are probably incorrect.

Peabody Museum in 1890 from the Antiquarian Society of Worcestor, Massachusetts. The catalogue states that "most" of the Northwest Coast artifacts in the Antiquarian Society were obtained from "Roderick McKenzie, Esq., Terrebonne, Lower Canada and acknowledged in the Report of 1819" (Peabody Museum, Harvard, catalogue records). However, since neither the McKenzie correspondence nor the original list of artifacts includes any argillite pipes (Macnair, on-site investigation), the veracity of the 1819 date attached by Kaufmann and Wright to the Peabody Harvard pipes is placed in serious question.

A Haida motif pipe (cat. no. E3493) in the Peabody Museum, Salem, (Wright 1977: 64, Pl. 6), is dated by Wright as having been collected by John Hammond before 1821 and received by the Museum in 1821 (see Kaufmann 1969:176). The documentation dating this piece is somewhat confused. Its original number (2033A) does not appear in the 1821 printed catalogue nor does any catalogue entry corresponding to it appear in the handwritten catalogue which dates from 1799-1821. The first unquestionable reference to 2033A does not occur until 1831, which suggests that the pipe was received between 1821 and 1831 (Grimes 1981). However, it must be noted that the old number, 2933A, is part of a sequence that places it with those artifacts which were received pre-1821. A possible explanation offered by the Peabody Museum was that "there was a double catalogue entry in 1821, one of which was the pipe" (i.e. #E3493/2033A) (Grimes 1981).

Wright (1977:47) states that a Haida motif pipe (Wallace 1940:33) in the Hudson's Bay Company Museum, Lower Fort Garry, Manitoba, was collected by John Halkett in 1822 (see also Barbeau 1953:2). In response to an inquiry concerning the documentation on the Halkett pipe, the Hudson's Bay Company Museum stated that the "only assumption" that could be made from the records was that approximately two dozen artifacts acquired by them in 1938 were from the J. Halkett collection. It was also their understanding that Halkett had artifacts "from the colonies" shipped to him until his death in 1852 and, therefore, that the "pipe in question could have been collected up until approximately 1850." This would appear to place in question the statement in the records of the Hudson's Bay Company Museum that all the artifacts placed in the Halkett collection were "collected in 1821-22 by J. Halkett" (Tarr 1980). Little is known about Halkett. He became a member of the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company prior to 1809 and visited Canada in 1822. Although Halkett travelled west to at least Lake Winnipeg, there is no record of his being on the Northwest Coast (Wallace 1940:33).

The remaining argillite pipe with an 1820s date discussed by Wright (1977:62, Pl. 3) is a Haida motif pipe acquired by the Musée de l'Homme from John Scouler. Scouler was the ship's surgeon on the Hudson's Bay vessel *William and Anne* trading on the Northwest Coast in 1824, 1825 and 1826. In an account published in 1841 he states that the Haida "construct drinking-vessels, tobacco pipes, etc., from a soft argillaceous stone" (Scouler 1841:218). This statement, which one is tempted to see as evidence of Scouler's acquaintance with argillite dating to his 1824-26 sojourn on the coast, must be tempered by the fact that on the previous page (Scouler 1841: 217) he makes clear his great debt to his friend William Fraser Tolmie for the information on the Haida that he, Scouler, presents. In addition to the latter, Tolmie records in his journal that in 1839 he sent Scouler a number of items from the Northwest Coast including "Pipes & Dishes" (Tolmie 1963: 333). The pipe in question, number 79.5.4, was received by the Musée de l'Homme as part of the Scouler collection which included an argillite "Boite à bijoux" (cat. no. 79.5.3), actually a "carved bowl" type (Holm 1974:28) and an "assiette." a round dish (cat. no. 79.5.5). On the reverse or bottom of each artifact is inscribed "donne Mars 1872 par . . . Scouler" (Musée de l'Homme catalogue records). Additional negative evidence which suggests that Scouler did not collect the pipe in the 1820s can be inferred from his daily journal of that period. Although he was at Skedans in June of 1825 and the ship had a Haida pilot on board through the better part of July, no mention is made of argillite or argillite carving (Scouler 1905:179-191).

The above discussion of the reliability of the 1820s dates for Haida motif and ship pipes places in question Kaufmann's and Wright's assertion that the beginning of the second decade of the nineteenth century marked the first appearance of argillite pipes in the museums of North America and Europe. Indeed the reliability of the 1830s dated pipes must also be re-examined. Wright (1977:49-50) has pointed out that the pre-1832 date that Kaufmann (1969:171) accepts for the ex-Catlin pipes in the Museum of the American Indian in New York is not verifiable. The documentation on the Hammond pipe in the Peabody Salem Museum is very confusing. It is numbered E3493 by Wright (1977:64, Pl. 6) yet Peabody Salem records (see Barbeau 1953: Fig. 240, pp. 275, 303) also give its number as 3496. The latter number is also attached to another Haida motif pipe (see Barbeau 1953: Fig. 60, pp. 94, 147). These irregularities lead one to suspect the reliability of the documentation that assigns other Peabody Salem Museum pipes to the third decade of the nineteenth century. Included among the latter are the ship pipe #3498, apparently accessioned in 1830 (Wright 1977:74, Pl. 14), Haida motif pipe #3494 documented as received in 1830 from John C. Jones (Peabody Salem records; Barbeau 1953:3) and Haida motif pipe #3497 illustrated in the *Arts of the Raven* catalogue (Duff *et al* 1967: number 209) documented as received in 1832 from donor J. P. Williams, collected at Trinidad Bay which is near Eureka, northern California (Gudde 1969:344). Wright's (1977:13) discovery of Jonathan S. Green's 1829 observation of argillite pipes at Skidegate (Green 1915:86) remains the earliest and best date presently known.

There are no collection dates for the third category of pipe, the clay trade type, before 1850 (Wright 1977:91,93). Evidence for the early presence of this type is based on archaeological information from an excavated house at the Richardson Ranch Site located three miles south of the mouth of the Tlell River on the east coast of Graham Island, north of Skidegate (Fladmark 1973). The excavation yielded two argillite clay trade type pipes. The most complete example is an unfinished red 'argillite' pipe with spur (Fladmark 1973:91, Fig. 7c). The second is of black ar-

gillite with a smaller spur (Fladmark 1973:91, Fig. 7b). Both have forward sloping bowls and are obviously based on Euro-American clay trade pipes, two nearly complete examples of which were found in the same excavation (Fladmark 1973:67, 93; Fig. 9i, j). Fladmark dates the house to the period 1810 to 1830-40 (1973:73, 80).

Wright also uses the evidence from the Richardson Ranch excavation to offer an explanation of the origin of the argillite carving tradition. Although the Haida both grew and chewed a type of tobacco, they did not engage in smoking (Wright 1977: 33) until the practise was introduced by Euro-American sailors. Along with commercial tobacco the Haida also obtained clay trade pipes (Wright 1977:93). Wright suggests that the Haida first used argillite to make stone replacements for the fragile, clay tobacco pipes which not only broke easily but were also difficult to replace, particularly after 1820 when the decline of the sea otter noticeably reduced the number of ships visiting the Queen Charlottes (Wright 1977:41-42). Thus Wright (1977: 94) echoes Fladmark's (1973:75-77) conclusion that the development of argillite carving as an art-for-sale tradition followed the initial production of functional argillite tobacco pipes. Fladmark's theory is based on three lines of evidence: first, the obvious formal relationship between clay trade pipes and their argillite counterparts; second, the presence of waste flakes produced in the manufacture of argillite pipes as well as "pipe preforms" which represent the first stage in that process; and, third, the presence of a fragmentary argillite pipe that has a "pronounced layer of carbon residue" in its straight-sided bowl (Fladmark 1973: 62, 63, 73, 75-77). But as Sheehan (1981: 75-76) has remarked, the presence of one argillite pipe fragment with carbon residue is rather slim evidence. This is particularly so if clay trade pipes were as commonly available as the archaeological evidence from Fort Vancouver suggests (see Wright 1977:93).

Although the above theory addresses the problem of the beginning of the historically known uses of argillite, it does not answer questions as to whether or not the Haida knew about argillite before Euro-American contact. It is difficult to imagine that the Haida were ignorant of the existence of argillite previous to their using it to manufacture tobacco pipes (cf. Holm 1982:134). Evidence for the prehistoric use of the material is inferred by the presence of argillite labrets, lip plugs worn by Haida women at the time of contact (Lauder 1973:25, 26; Keddie 1981: Figs. 1 & 6), reported in archaeological sites. Mackenzie (1891: 54, #1274) states that a "slate" labret was found two feet below the surface of a midden at Masset, and Fladmark (1973:75) notes the occurrence of an "argillite labret in a prehistoric context" but does not give specific details. The former is Canadian Ethnology Service artifact number VII-B-993. Analysis by the Canadian Conservation Institute indicates that the material is indeed argillite (Hall 1982). Drew and Wilson (1980:235) citing a personal communication from Fladmark state that an argillite labret was "found on the surface of a 2000-year-old archaeological site on the east coast of the Charlottes." Presumably the latter is the same labret referred to by Fladmark (1973). It has also been suggested (Holm 1972:86) that argillite amulets or pendants (cf. Drew & Wilson 1980: 234, 235, 258) were produced for personal use by the Haida but none have been found in prehistoric contexts or have documentation that dates them prior to the earliest collected pipes (see Kaufmann 1969:177; Holm 1982:134).

In studying these pipes, probably the earliest and perhaps the most important single argillite artifact type, Wright has drawn a number of conclusions. The predominance of pipes illustrating traditional Haida motifs (286 of 579 specimens) leads Wright (1977: 109) to suggest that the artists were drawing predominately from their own long-established art tradition but that both the innovative nature of the motifs and the formal manner in which they were arranged resulted from the absence of traditional constraints concerning the new medium. Wright also concludes that the Euro-American imagery of the ship, and clay type, pipes did not derive primarily from scrimshaw sources as stated by Barbeau (1953:243) and Kaufmann (1969:129-134) but rather directly from the clay tobacco pipe and the ships of the Euro-American intruders. Thus she rejects emphatically Barbeau's (1953:viii & frontispiece) paternalistic suggestion that the Haida argillite tradition began as "childish imitations" of the American whaler's scrimshandering (Wright 1977:110).

In 1980, a replacement for Barbeau's popular works on argillite was published. Written by Leslie Drew, an argillite enthusiast, and Douglas Wilson, a Haida argillite carver from Skidegate, *Argillite: Art of the Haida*, presents a well-illustrated comprehensive view of the argillite tradition. Unfortunately, the book does not avoid the mistakes of Barbeau, particularly in attributing personal styles. For example, of five carvings they use to illustrate the work of Charles Edenshaw, two, a canoe (p. 100) and a pole (p. 101), were definitely not created by Edenshaw (cf. Holm 1981:181-190). A platter that they claim is from the hand of Tom Price (p. 207) is attributed elsewhere to John Cross (Holm 1981:191, Fig. 38).

A most regrettable aspect of this book is the authors' uncritical promotion of all twentieth-century argillite. Although they are unquestionably sincere in their wish to present argillite carving as an important aspect of Haida artistic activity, they do the good name of the tradition a disservice by ignoring the degeneracy that occurred during the early part of the twentieth-century. This unwillingness, or inability, to distinguish between works of widely divergent artistic merit is clearly illustrated in their juxtaposition (1980:213-215), without appropriate comment, of a compote attributed to Charles Edenshaw and an unaccomplished contemporary example of the same artifact type. It should be noted, in the authors' defense, that the entire question of comparative, critical standards as applied to contemporary Northwest Coast art is fraught with difficulty and can leave the critic open to charges of personal (and regional) favouritism. Indeed contemporary criticism has been avoided by other authors either by omission of works that they consider inferior (Macnair *et al* 1980:85) or by simply stating that the pieces that they illustrate do not reflect in any way personal judgement about aesthetic quality (Hall *et al* 1981:5). Despite what might be termed 'political problems' in exercising aesthetic judgement about the work of living artists, it is necessary to object to the inclusion of the

poorly conceived and executed diagrams on pages 134-139 of this work. They do not do justice to accomplished examples of Haida contemporary two-dimension design (cf. Stewart 1979).

The chronology of artifact types that is used by Drew and Wilson (1980:155-157) is based on uncritical acceptance of the work of Kaufmann (1969) and Wright (1977). Thus they perpetuate the mistakes that are contained in those works: e.g. Kaufmann's claim that bowls were produced in the 1820s, and both Kaufmann's and Wright's acceptance of the 1820 collection dates for Haida motif pipes as well as Wright's acceptance of a similar date for the small ship type called "scroll" pipes by Drew and Wilson (1980:155).

Drew and Wilson's major contribution to unverifiable speculation about the argillite tradition is their contention that Haida motif panel pipes were functional types (cf. Holm 1982:136, No. 107) that were used by Haida shamans (1980:71, 167, 172, 192). Their only evidence is a statement by Thomas Deasy who was the Indian agent at Masset between 1910 and 1924. Deasy claimed that:

> Some of t(he) "pipes", which the Indian "doctors" held in their hands, while dancing, show the "Egyptian" style of "carving". The articles were made before the White man visited the country. (Deasy to Howay, August 17, 1921, quotation marks are Deasy's)

Their explanation of how such supposedly 'sacred' objects got into the hands of Euro-American individuals and institutions is the unfounded claim that many of them were stolen (1980:172).

In spite of the above criticism Drew and Wilson, in the first five sections of their book, do present an adequate overview of the argillite tradition. The many fine illustrations of argillite pieces from the museums of North America and Europe are a real contribution and are certainly the most comprehensive photographic collection currently available.

The last work to be examined in this brief overview of the history of the study of argillite is titled *Pipes That Won't Smoke; Coal That Won't Burn*. Written by Carol Sheehan (1981), a student of the late Wilson Duff, it was produced to accompany an exhibit of the same name at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary.

Sheehan (1981:20-27), using a conceptual scheme devised by Duff, divides the argillite tradition into four periods. The content and chronology of the first three are simply Kaufmann's stylistic periods — Haida I (1820-1835), Western (1830-1865), Haida II (1870-1910) — with new names. The fourth period covers the time from the end of Kaufmann's study, 1910, to the present.

Duff, according to Sheehan felt that Kaufmann's stylistic analysis was lacking in that although she defines the changes that occurred in argillite carving through time, she was unable to explain why those changes took place. This contention is incorrect as Kaufmann (1969:121, 127, 141, 145-147) certainly does discuss the cultural and social forces that may have been instrumental in determining subject matter choices and changes throughout the argillite tradition. Duff argues that the choices in stylistic content that were predominant in each period could be explained by reference to the historical events that were impinging upon the Haida in their continuing and changing relationship to the invading Euro-American culture.

Duff contended that the Haida motifs that are exhibited on pipes from the first period (1800-1835) do not make sense in terms of traditional Haida crest portrayal. Although these images portray creatures from Haida cosmology, they are presented in such a way as to "have no meaning for Haida sensibilities." This was done because,if the carvers had adorned these objects with traditional crest figures and sold them to Euro-American buyers, it would have been "tantamount to prostituting their invaluable heritage." Thus, according to Duff and Sheehan, the images on Haida motif pipes from "period one" are either unrecognizable distortions of crest figures or non-crest creatures (see Sheehan's discussion of pipe AA 1888 on p. 22). Duff called this first period "Haida non-sense" (Sheehan 1981:22).

The second period, 1830-1865, continues the idea of a lack of meaning. During this period, the Haida artist, responding to the increased contact with Euro-Americans, often produced, at least in Duff and Sheehan's opinion, images that reflected the amused puzzlement that was created in Haida perceptions of these alien people by their strange clothing, habits, technology and domestic animals (see Sheehan's discussion of artifact AA 1929 on page 24). Duff labels period two "White man's non-sense" (Sheehan 1981:25).

The third period, Kaufmann's Haida II, 1870-1910, is typified as a time when the argillite carvers were concerned with producing images of traditional Haida motifs — crests, myths, chiefs and shamans. The artists were painfully aware, again according to Duff and Sheehan, of the traumatic changes that had been brought about by population loss and subsequent acculturation. They were thus consciously concerned with providing a record of a rapidly disappearing way of life. Duff labels this period, or the images typical of it, as "Haida sense" (Sheehan 1981:25).

The fourth period, 1910 to the present, is divided by Duff and Sheehan into two parts. The first "few decades" mark a significant devolution in the quality of the art from the previous period, but this was reversed beginning in the late 1960s. The predominant imagery derives from traditional Haida motifs with the totem pole being a significant artifact type (Sheehan 1981:25, 27).

The least controversial sections of the Duff chronological and stylistic four-part scheme are the last two periods. The factors that Duff through Sheehan considers to be instrumental in bringing about period three are similar to those suggested by Kaufmann. Both note the profound and often traumatic changes that were taking place in the 1860s. But rather than seeing them as the catalyst leading to a conscious desire to record a disappearing culture, Kaufmann (1969:141, 145-147) sees a lack of restraint and the disappearance of social prohibitions concerning the depiction of classes of objects, people and perhaps events as the major influences. Duff and Sheehan do not say much about the period from 1910 to the present other than to note the degeneracy at the beginning and a revival in the 1960s marking the beginning of the second part of that period. Sheehan's recognition (1981:27) of that date as the beginning of a new understanding of the principles of Haida art is strangely contradicted by

her statement that the earlier degeneracy lasted only a few decades.

It is Duff's first and second periods that must be examined closely, including both the chronological assumptions and the suggested influences that supposedly affected the choices and changes in dominant imagery. Because the most important artifacts involved in Duff's contention that the two periods reflect "non-sense" are Haida motif and ship type pipes, the major focus of criticism will involve those two artifact classes.

The first two periods of the Duff stylistic sequence are, as previously noted, simply an uncritical acceptance of the chronology that was initially formulated by Kaufmann. It was argued above that the validity of the 1820s collection dates (Sheehan 1981:67) is open to serious question and that the earliest reliable date is 1829, nearly 30 years after the beginning date of 1800 postulated by Duff and Sheehan for "period one".

The establishment of the first two periods on the basis of the supposed sequential development of Haida motif and ship pipe types is not supported by the results of Wright's investigations. She contends that both types were produced from the beginning of the argillite tradition in significant numbers until 1870 at least (Wright 1977:56, 104). The fact that both types show a similar development through time from smaller, more compact, few-figure pipes toward longer, thinner, multiple-figure pipes (Wright 1977:73) is further evidence for rejecting the Kaufmann-Duff-Sheehan theory of a chronologically separate developmental history for each pipe type. Thus it is here argued that the two types are not separated by time but simply represent two stylistically distinct, but contemporary, artifacts.

The problems of iconographic analysis of Northwest Coast motifs has been duly noted by other investigators (Gould 1973:4; Holm *in* Holm & Reid 1975:108). Duff and Sheehan's contention that the images seen on Haida motif pipes are non-sensical in terms of traditional Haida iconography is not supported by the presentation of much evidence. In fact, Sheehan only illustrates eight artifacts (1981:139-141) as representative of "period one" and only discusses a single image on one pipe to support their argument. Indeed Sheehan (1981:79) in her discussion of Swanton's data on figures on horn spoons gives an acceptable answer to the questions raised about the uniqueness of some images on Haida motif pipes.

The validity of the "non-sense" theory hinges on the unproven claim that the depiction of crest motifs on art-for-sale objects would have been a prostitution of a "visual system that held great personal and religious meaning for the Haida" (Sheehan 1981:79). The Haida were not selling their crests by depicting a killer whale on an object that was to be sold to an ignorant foreigner just as Northwest Coast people have never sold the rights to their crests by selling ritual paraphernalia to Euro-American individuals and institutions.

An alternate theory, based on fewer unproven assumptions, explaining the innovative freedom with which images were conceived and handled on Haida motif pipes is proposed by Wright:

> . . . the new form of the tobacco pipe offered a medium that was not subject to many of the conventions which govern most Haida art forms. (1977:109)

Although Wright is referring, I assume, to formal artistic conventions, the inapplicability of social conventions must also be noted.

The explanation that the images on ship type pipes were motivated by a quizzical wonderment with the habits and technology of the alien Euro-Americans does not appear that far-fetched. Even so, it has not been demonstrated that the humourous or satirical quality that is attributed to the images on ship pipes is more than the twentieth century, Euro-American perception of Duff and Sheehan.

Carol Sheehan's *Pipes That Won't Smoke; Coal That Won't Burn* is important for two reasons. Firstly, it makes available an important Canadian collection of argillite. Secondly, it brings to light Wilson Duff's unpublished thoughts on the iconography of Haida motif and ship pipes. Duff's interest in the meaning of form can perhaps be traced back to his speculative article on the origins of the Nootkan canoe (Duff 1965). Although he did not publish a great deal on the iconography of Northern Northwest Coast art (see Duff 1970, 1981), his interest and influence can be traced in the work of students and colleagues (e.g. Gould 1973; Halpin 1981; MacDonald 1981). Sheehan's dedication in presenting Duff's speculations on the meaning of argillite images reminds us of the dangers of such an activity and also the necessity of doing so if we aspire to a balanced view of Northwest Coast art that accounts for both form and content (see Boas 1955:12; quoted in Duff 1981:210).

Contemporary understanding of the history of argillite carving has progressed significantly since the appearance of Marius Barbeau's books in the 1950s. Although Barbeau's publications were important in promoting argillite as a field of study, they were also perhaps responsible for creating a level of scholarship that has been guilty of accepting false or questionable artifact documentation. It is hoped that the above review has been able to point out the misinformation perpetrated by that scholarship and to validate the need for careful scrutiny of museum records in future argillite studies.

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